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Your most obedient and
most faithful Servant
J G Simcoe.

GENERAL JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE.

From the John Ross Robertson Historical Collection, Toronto.

MRS. SIMCOE IN WELSH DRESS.

From the John Ross Robertson Historical Collection, Toronto.

THIRTEENTH REPORT

OF THE

BUREAU OF ARCHIVES

FOR THE

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO

BY

ALEXANDER FRASER,
M.A., LL.D., Litt. D., F.S.A. Scot. (Edin.), F.A.G.S., etc.
Provincial Archivist

1916

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To His Honour COLONEL SIR JOHN STRATHEARN HENDRIE, K.C.M.G., C.V.O., LL.D., etc.

Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Ontario.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR:

I have the pleasure to present herewith for the consideration of your Honour the Report of the Bureau of Archives for Ontario for 1916.

Respectfully submitted,

THOS. W. McGARRY,

Treasurer of Ontario.

Toronto, 1917.

The Honourable THOMAS W. MCGARRY, ESQ., K.C., M.P.P., etc.

Treasurer of Ontario.

SIR,—I have the honour to submit to you the following Report in connection with the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario for 1916.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

ALEXANDER FRASER,

Provincial Archivist.

Toronto 31st December, 1916.

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EX REBUS ANTIQUIS ERUDITIS ORIATUR

Report

OF THE

Ontario Bureau of Archives

PREFATORY

Following the precedents of 1904 and 1908 when the Report on the U. E. L. claims in Canada, and "Huronia," by Rev. A. E. Jones, LL.D., were issued by the Ontario Bureau of Archives, this year La Rochefoucault's Travels in Upper Canada is published.

The Bureau gratefully makes its acknowledgments to Professor J. Watson Bain, B.A.Sc., Toronto University, to whom it is indebted for permission to publish this most valuable material; and to whose father, the late James Bain, D.C.L., Chief Librarian of Toronto, the Ontario Archives owed much in years gone by.

La Rochefoucault-Liancourt visited Upper Canada in 1795. The account of his travels was given to the world in 1799, followed in the same year by a translation by Henry Neuman.

This translation was rather disappointing and when it reached Upper Canada naturally aroused anger in the young community in which personal attachment to Governor Simcoe was still strong. David William Smith, who had occupied a number of public offices including that of Surveyor-General, and was one of the best informed officials of the Province, traversed the narrative minutely and embodied his criticisms and corrections in a deliberately prepared manuscript, which for preservation he bound up with his copy of Neuman's translation. It forms part of this volume and for the first time is now made public as has been said through the courtesy of Professor Bain.

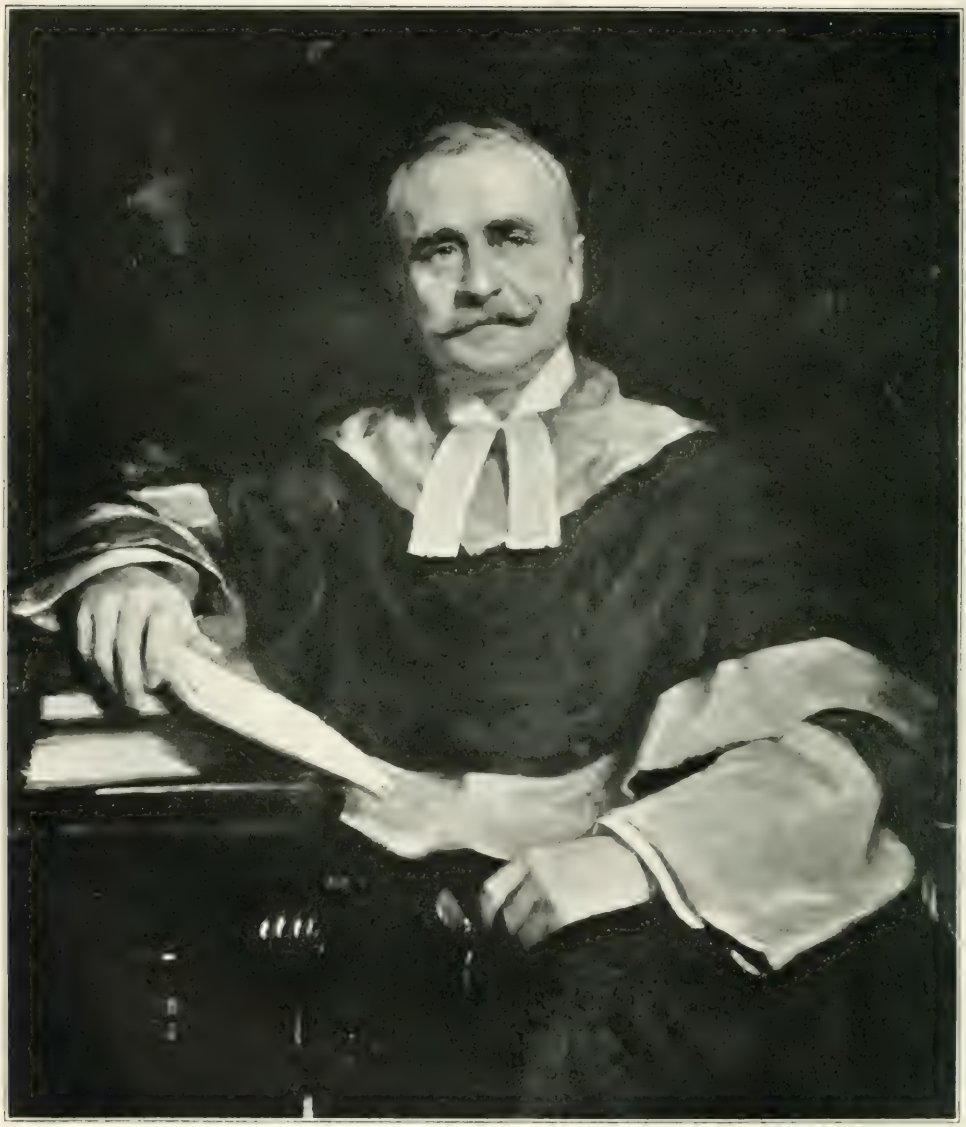
With a readiness characteristic of him where the history of his native Province is concerned the Honourable Mr. Justice Riddell undertook the task of editing the material thus made available. As a French scholar and as a keen student of Canadian history he has easily held an even balance between the author and the translator on the one hand and between the translator and the critic on the other, while adding much of real value to the work in his corrections and general notes.

William Renwick Riddell was born near Cobourg, Ontario, and was educated at the Cobourg Grammar School, Collegiate Institute, and Victoria University. He graduated B.A., in 1874, B.Sc., in 1876, LL.B., 1878, and was Ontario Law School gold medallist and first in all his examinations. In his early years he was mathematical master in the Ottawa Normal School, and was called to the Bar in 1883 and to the King's Bench division of the High Court of Justice of Ontario in 1906. Throughout his life he has been interested in the study of historical and constitutional subjects, ancient and modern, and has specialized in the Canadian field. His books, brochures, pamphlets and fugitive sketches form a valuable collection of "Riddelliana" in public libraries, and testify to the extent and variety of his investigations into the history of the past. Honours have been showered upon him by Canadian and United States universities in recognition of his devotion in this respect. The Ontario Archives has found in him a constant friend, further evidence of which, it is expected, will be forthcoming in the near future.

To Mr. John Ross Robertson, Toronto, whose indefatigable labours have won for him a position which is quite unique in the field of Canadian history and antiquities, the Ontario Archives is indebted for the portraits which illustrate this volume.

ALEXANDER FRASER,
Provincial Archivist.

NOTE.—The figures printed in heavy black type which intersperse the book denote the pages of Neuman's translation and are given for the purpose of reference.



THE HONOURABLE MR. JUSTICE RIDDELL, LL.D., L.H.D., ETC.

LA ROCHEFOUCAULT-LIANCOURT'S

TRAVELS IN CANADA

1795

WITH ANNOTATIONS AND STRICTURES

BY

SIR DAVID WILLIAM SMITH, Bart.,

Sometime Deputy Surveyor-General, etc.,
of Upper Canada

EDITED WITH NOTES

BY

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL,

LL.D., F.R. HIST. SOCY., ETC.,

Justice of the Supreme Court of Ontario

INTRODUCTION.

The volume here reprinted is from the library of Sir David William Smith, Bart.; it was purchased in England by the late James Bain, Esq., D.C.L., and is now the property of his son, Professor Bain of the University of Toronto. The book is a leather bound 8vo., containing that part of La Rochefoucault's Travels which refers to Canada, followed by notes in Smith's handwriting.

I have indicated in notes certain passages in which the translation is not the same as the original, etc., and have added some further notes.

François Alexandre Frédéric la Rochefoucault-Liancourt was born January 11th, 1747, the son of la Rochefoucault duc d'Estissac, Master of the Robes to the King of France.

The son became an officer of Carabineers, but fell out with Madame du Barry and at an early age left the Court of Louis XV and devoted himself to the care of his estate at Liancourt. There, after a visit to England, he established a model farm, importing cattle for breeding purposes from England and Switzerland: he also established a school of arts and trades for the sons of soldiers, which was the parent of the more famous school at Châlons.

He was elected to the States-Général in the stirring times of 1789, and appointed President of the National Assembly—it was he who warned the King of the perilous condition of affairs in the Capital, and replied to his statement that there was a revolt in Paris, "Non, Sire, c'est une révolution."

Rochefoucault did his best for King Louis XVI, offered him a refuge at Rouen and gave him considerable money. His friendship for the unhappy monarch brought him into disfavour with the Revolutionists; and in August, 1792, he took refuge in England, where he was the guest of the well-known Arthur Young.

His cousin Louis-Alexandre having been assassinated, he assumed the title Duc de La Rochefoucault in 1792. Of this cousin he writes: "His inner consciousness induced him to slight the advice of friends given to him and to me . . . He would not leave France, but I, who was less confident and less virtuous, fled from the poignard while he fell by its stroke."

In the winter of 1794-95 he crossed to the American Continent, making, as he says, a "journey for philosophical and commercial observation" in North America. Arriving in Philadelphia, still the Capital of the United States, he remained there for some five months, during which time he made investigations which he afterwards incorporated in an

Account of the Prisons of Philadelphia, published in Philadelphia and Paris in 1796: ("Comparative View of Mild and Sanguinary Laws, etc., exhibited in the Present Economy of the Prisons in Philadelphia," 8vo., pp. 48: the Philadelphia edition is rare but the London reprint, 1796, turns up now and then in the second-hand book shops.)

He left Philadelphia, May 5th, 1795, and travelled through a great part of the more northern states and also Upper Canada until the summer of 1797. Some account of his travels will be given later.

In 1799 he returned to France, but was not received into the favour of Napoleon and so lived in some obscurity in Paris for a time. But he busied himself with philanthropic schemes, inaugurated the system of dispensaries, and introduced vaccination into the City. At the Restoration, he took his place in the House of Peers but failed to become Master of the Robes, an office which had been bought and paid for by his father. He became a member of the General Council of Hospitals and President of the Society of Christian Morals, taking a deep interest in the abolition of the slave trade and the suppression of gaming houses, lotteries, etc.

Created Inspector-General of the School at Châlons already mentioned, he continued in office twenty-three years, giving invaluable service. He was also an active member of several associations of an industrial and philanthropic character.

He had always a strong inclination toward Liberalism, which brought him into disrepute with Louis XVIII and the ultra-conservatives. At length in 1823, the reactionary Ministry of de Villèle removed him from his honorary offices, or at least most of them. The Academies of Medicine and of Science showed their appreciation of him and their disapprobation of the arbitrary conduct of the government—the latter by admitting him a member, the former by appointing him on a Commission on Vaccination to take the place of that of which he had been President, but which had been suppressed by the Administration. He did not live long thereafter, but died March 27th, 1827. During this interval nevertheless he established the first Savings Bank in France and inaugurated a system of schools for mutual instruction (in substance the Lancastrian system).

La Rochefoucault was a very voluminous writer: he published works on taxation, pauperism, public instruction, savings banks, prison discipline, etc., all displaying sound judgment and careful observation.

The work, part of a translation of which is here presented, was published in Paris in 1799. It is in eight volumes, 8vo., of about 350 pages each (my own copy is beautifully bound in contemporary calf with gold tooling). The title page reads: "Voyage | Dans | Les États-unis | d'Amérique | Fait en 1795, 1796 et 1797, | par La Rochefoucault-Liancourt | Tome—(Medallion representing a pastoral scene with a sheep suckling a lamb in the foreground). A Paris | chez du Pont, Imprimeur-Libraire, rue de la Loi, No. 1231 | Buisson, Libraire, rue St.-Thomas du Louvre | L'an VII. de la République."

The Translator.

The translation here reprinted was made in 1799 by Henry Neuman, a Professor of Languages in London, who in the same year published a Marine Pocket Dictionary, 12mo., in four languages and a Translation of Kotzebue's Self-Immolation, ... a play, 8vo. (from "Die jüngsten Kinder meiner Laune"). He is, however, best known by his New Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages, 1806, 2 vols., 8vo., which, improved by Baretti (of Italian Dictionary fame), passed through at least ten editions and a "pocket edition."

His translation of La Rochefoucault's Travels has nothing to commend it. It is diffuse and turgid where the original is concise and clear: whole passages are omitted; some not wholly omitted are displaced, and not infrequently the translator fails to grasp the meaning of his author.

Sir David William Smith, Bart.

David William Smith, born September 4, 1764, was the only child of Major John Smith the well-known Commandant of Detroit (who became Commandant at Niagara in 1792) by Anne, daughter of William Waylen, of Rowde Hill and Devizes, Wiltshire. The son, born in the regiment, became a Lieutenant and afterwards a Captain in his father's regiment (the 5th Foot), and was appointed Deputy Judge Advocate at Niagara. On July 7th, 1794, *i.e.*, immediately after the institution of the Court of King's Bench in Upper Canada, he, then living in Newark, received a licence under the Act 34 Geo. III, c. 1, from Governor Simcoe "to be and appear as Advocate and Attorney in all and every of His Majesty's Courts." (This licence is copied at the back of the King's Bench Term Book, No. 2.) I do not find that he ever appeared in Court; he never became a Barrister or even a Member of the Law Society.

In 1792 he was elected a member of the House of Assembly in Upper Canada for Kent in the first Parliament of the Province, in 1796 for the second, third and fourth Ridings of Lincoln in the Second Parliament (when he was made an Executive Councillor), and in 1800 for Norfolk, Oxford and Middlesex in the third Parliament. He was Speaker in the second and third Houses.

In June 1799, being then Speaker as well as Acting Surveyor-General (which he had become in September, 1792) for the Province, he received leave from the House to go to Europe. He had not returned to Canada by the opening day of the succeeding session, June 5th, 1800, and Samuel Street was elected in his stead. Re-elected Speaker in the new Parliament, May 28th, 1801, he presided during that session and the next; but he was again absent in 1803, and Richard Beasley was elected. He went to and returned from England from time to time, and finally being allowed a pension of £200 sterling per annum from the Provincial funds (why? is a mystery) he went there permanently—he had resigned

his position of Surveyor-General in May, 1804, his health being impaired. He was made a Baronet in 1821 and died near Alnwick, England, May 9th, 1837, aged 73.

The last years of his life, he was manager of the estates of the Duke of Northumberland, who had been his patron as Lord Percy. No doubt it was the Duke's influence which procured him his title; no public service of any moment is recorded of him, although he had been Justice of the Peace, Judge of the Court of Requests, Master-in-Chancery, Speaker, Deputy Judge Advocate and Acting Surveyor-General.

Very many papers of his which are of extreme value in the early history of this Province are now in the Toronto Public Library on College Street: several others, of which the volume here reprinted is one, are the property of Professor Bain. Some account is given of Smith in "The Legal Profession in Upper Canada in its Early Periods," Toronto, 1916, pp. 181, 182.

Sir David was twice married, first to Anne, daughter of John O'Reilly, of Ballykilchrist, County Longford, by whom he had seven children, three dying in infancy, one son David William, of H.M.S. "Spartan," killed in action, and three daughters, who survived him. His second wife was Mary, daughter of John Tylee, of Devizes, banker, by whom he had one son and one daughter. The Baronetcy seems to be extinct.

The Editions.

Neuman's translation appeared in two forms. The quarto is quite common: it is in two volumes (Vol. I, xxiii+642+12 of Index: Vol. II, 686+9 of Index.) "Travels | through | the United States of North America, | the Country of the Iroquois | and Upper Canada | in the years 1795, 1796 and 1797 | With an authentic account of Lower Canada | by the | Duke de La Rochefoucault-Liancourt | Vol. I, containing the Tour through the Northern Provinces, Upper Canada and the Carolinas | with an account of Lower Canada, and a General Map | London | Printed for R. Phillips, No. 71 St. Paul's Churchyard | by T. Davison | Lombard Street, Fleet Street. | Sold by T. Hurst and J. Wallis, Paternoster Row, and by Carpenter and Co. | Old Bond Street | 1799." (The second volume has: "Vol. II | containing the Tour through Virginia, Pennsylvania, The Jerseys and | New York, a General View of the Commerce, Politics and Manners | of the United States: with two large maps and four large tables.") Not infrequently the maps are missing: my own copy is complete and bound in contemporary calf. The octavo edition is that which Smith possessed—it was also published in 1799 with a second edition in 1800. The title page is: "Travels | through | the United States | of | North America | the | Country of the Iroquois and | Upper Canada | in the years 1795, 1796 and 1797 | by the | Duke de La Rochefoucault | Liancourt | with an Authentic Account of Lower Canada | Three Maps, several Tables, etc. | London, R. Phillips. | 1800."

Smith's copy is of the first octavo edition, in which the account of Canada is to be found in Vol. I, pp. 380 to 591 (the end of the volume). In the quarto edition it is to be found in Vol. I, pp. 213 to 335; in the French original in Vol. II, pp. 1-236; in the second octavo edition of 1800 the same as in the first octavo.

Outline of the Contents.

An outline of La Rochefoucault's travels may be interesting. Volume I of the original edition (French) gives the account of his leaving Philadelphia, May 5th, 1795, with one Caleb Lownes and Mr. Guillemard, an agreeable young Englishman of Huguenot descent whom he had met in Philadelphia. He passes through Rocksburry (Roxborough) and Springmill to Norristown, thence to Trapp, Potsgrove, White Horse, Reading, Ephrata, Lancaster, Maytown, Middletown, Harrisburg, Sunbury, Northumberland, Berwich (Berwick), Wilkesbarre, Asylum. Asylum was a small town on the right bank of the Susquehanna which had been founded only about fifteen years before and was inhabited mainly by French refugees from St. Domingo and by French immigrants from France. Amongst them were M. de Blacons, deputy in the French Constituent Assembly for Dauphiné, who had since leaving France married Mdlle. de Maulde, late Canoness of the Chapter of Bourbourg, and with her was keeping a haberdasher's shop in partnership with M. Colin, formerly Abbé of Sevigny, Archdeacon of Tours and "*Conseiller au grand conseil*": also M. Du Petit-Thouars, an officer of the navy, who, encouraged by the Constituent Assembly and assisted by a subscription, had, some years before, embarked on an expedition in search of de La Pérouse, the explorer, last heard of at Botany Bay, February, 1788. (Wreckage of his ships was fallen in with in 1826.) De Petit-Thouars was detained on the coast of Brazil by the Governor of the Island Fernando de Noroñha, and sent with his crew to Portugal, from which he escaped to America, "where he lives free and happy, without property yet without want." (Later on and after this trip with La Rochefoucault he returned to France, obtained the command of a ship of the line, the *Tonant*, and was killed at the Battle of the Nile.) Both he and de Blacons now joined La Rochefoucault in his trip, du Petit-Thouars on foot. Passing Old Sheshequeen, Tioga, Newtown (in New York State) where whiskey was a dollar a gallon, Painted-Post, Bath, Friends-Mill, settled by Friends or Quakers, but then dominated by Gemaima (Jemima) Wilkinson, who claimed to have risen from the dead and called herself the Amie universelle (All-friend)—here he first met maple sugar, and de Blacons left him—then on to Williamsburg on the Genessee River where were some eighty families of German immigrants—Canandargué, Cananwaga, where they got a guide (a Canadian, Poudrit by name, with an Indian wife) to help them to traverse the "deserts" as they are called—a Seneca village,

then through the forest thirty-eight miles to Big Plain on the Buffalo Creek, where the mosquitos tortured the travellers, Tonnowanta, Buffalo Town to Lake Erie "a small settlement of four or five houses standing about a quarter of a mile from the Lake." The volume closes with an extraordinary story of the adventures amongst the Indians of an American, Mr. Johnson, who was taken prisoner by them in 1790.

Volume II is here reprinted (in Neuman's translation) as far as p. 232 of the original French edition. Then the voyage continues from Oswego up the River to the Falls, Three Rivers Point, Fort Brumpton, Rotterdam, Wood-Creek, Canada Creek, Fort Stanurix (Stanwix), Schuylertown, German's Flats, Little Falls, Palatine, "Shenectady," Albany (with 6,000 inhabitants, 2,000 slaves), Saratoga, Stillwater, Troy, Philipstown, Stevenstown, Lebanon, the "Shakings-quakers" Settlement, "Pitts-Fields," Northampton in Massachusetts, "Belleytown," Marlborough, where La Rochefoucault was taken very sick "in addition to the ague"; on recovering he went on to Cambridge and Boston, "the road from Marlborough to Boston is a continual village."

Volume III contains an account of Boston, of Captain Robert's Voyage to the South Sea in 1791, etc. Then the Duke set out with General Knox for St. George River, the General's home in Main (Maine) a sail of seventy-two hours; touching at "Glocester" they sailed up to Thomas-town where the General resided on "Waldo's Patent." Warren, Thomas-town[1] (Thomaston) and Waldoborough are described but Rockland was not yet—they travelled along the shore of Penobscot Bay, to Camden (called by the Indians Myganticok—the present Meganticook), Dugtrap Creek (Ducktrap Creek), Belfast, Brigadier's Island.

In October he left General Knox's hospitable roof for Boston by land, passed Thomas-town, Broad-bay, Nobleborough, Newcastle, Wiscasset, crossed the Kennebeck, thence through Yarmouth, Portland, Biddefort (Biddeford) and Berwick. Entering New Hampshire by Dover he went on to Portsmouth, Newbury-port (in Massachusetts), Ipswich, Beverley, Salem, Marblehead, Linn (Lynn) and back to Boston through Charlestown. He visited Plymouth (where he met General Warren[2]), New Bedford, Bristol—then to Rhode Island, Newport, Warren, Providence,

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[1]The railway station at Thomaston, Maine, of the Maine Central Railway is in what was originally one of General Knox's outhouses. General Henry Knox, born in Boston in 1750, early took an active part in the American Revolution. He fought at Bunker Hill and afterwards distinguished himself in many important engagements as subaltern, colonel and general. He was appointed Secretary of War by Congress in 1785, filling that position till 1795 when he resigned on account of insufficient salary. During part of this time he was at the head of the Navy Department also. He had a large grant of land in what was afterwards the State of Maine, but then part of Massachusetts near the present City of Rockland—he retired to this estate and there lived till his death in 1806.

[2]This was James Warren, an American Revolutionary leader born in Plymouth, Mass., 1726, died there 1808. A graduate of Harvard, he became a merchant in his native place, and took the side of the rebellious colonists. He was for a time paymaster in the American Army, also was Speaker of the House and had a seat on the Navy Board.

Scituate, Norwich, New-London—then to Connecticut, Lebanon, Harford (Hartford) with 6,000 inhabitants, Middletown, Westfield, New Haven, whose "aspect on the whole is pleasing," Fairfield, Nothvarck (Norwalk), Stamford, and then into the State of New York, Paulus Hook, Elizabeth Town (in New Jersey), Newark to New York, where he visited Aaron Burr,[3] "one of the most amiable men I ever met." New Jersey is then traversed, "Voodbridge," Brunswick, Prince-town (Princeton), Maidenhead, Trenton, and across the Delaware to Philadelphia by way of Kensington. Thus he returned to the Pennsylvania city after a seven months' journey, the fatigue of which made it necessary for him "to take some time for refreshment and repose."

Volume IV describes his leaving Philadelphia March 26th, 1796, for South Carolina on a packet boat, one of his fellow passengers being "M. Elleword" (Oliver Ellsworth), who had been appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States on the resignation of John Jay (John Rutledge appointed by Washington failed of confirmation), and "to whom the Americans, most of them young, showed no more respect than to the negro waiter." Arriving at Charles-town (Charleston), he describes the town, the forts, etc., pays tribute to the hospitality of its inhabitants and then gives an entertaining description of the Sea Islands and the main land of South Carolina. After remaining in Charleston twenty days, La Rochefoucault set out for Georgia in company with a French botanist, de Beauvois, each hiring a "little cabriolet and a little negro." The caymans and rattlesnakes receive attention, panthers also—the slave mart of Savannah, the hostile Indians, Augusta "until 1794 the chief town in Georgia," Louisville the existing seat of government with only about thirty houses—but a fever which he had caught in Savannah forced him to give up his project of visiting the back country of Georgia and Carolina. A description is then given of the Spanish settlements in Florida and Louisiana, but he did not visit these parts of North America.

May 2nd, he set sail from Savannah for Charleston and spent three weeks there, adding to his information materially. He describes rice-culture, the "freshes" (freshets) and goes extensively into the cotton products and general commerce.

He was not able to visit North Carolina, but he gives the information he received concerning that State from "M. Iredwell" (James Iredell), one of the Justices of the United States Supreme Court.

He left Charleston in a sloop of twenty-nine tons, passed Cape Fear and Cape Lookout, ran aground in Chesapeake Bay and at length reached Norfolk in Virginia (renowned for its malignant epidemics, yellow fever, etc.), then Hampton, "Yorck," Williamsburg (the former Capital of Virginia), and Richmond. Here he notes the prevailing

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[3]Once Vice-President of the United States—best known for his ambitious scheme of an empire in the South-west and his subsequent trial for treason before Chief Justice John Marshall of the Supreme Court of the United States.

passion for games of chance, the frequency of duels and (characteristically) the rigid enforcement of the laws against inoculation.

The journey continued from Richmond to Manchester by "the worst and most dangerous of all bridges," through "Osburne" to Petersburg on the Appamatox; and with his return to Richmond ends the fourth volume.

Volume V. June 20th, the Duke set off with Guillemard for Monticello, the residence of Thomas Jefferson,[4] passed Dover, the "creek de Fuckhehoe" (Tuckahoe), into the county of "Gooekland" (Goochland), Milford, to Monticello. Jefferson's farm, his "machine à battre le bled" (threshing machine), his "machine à semer en paquets" (seed-drill), etc., come in for admiration, while his kind reception of the traveller is beyond praise. Then to Woods-tavern, Rockfish Mountain, Staunton, Keyssel-town, Pickering's which was "un gîte *comfortable*" but "il fait cruellement chaud," Winchester, Charles-town, across the "Potowmak," Harper's-ferry, into Maryland, Frederick-town, "Poplars's-pring," Annapolis, the seat of government, Ellicotsmill, Baltimore; leaving Baltimore by stage 4 a.m. of Monday, June 19th, stopping five or six hours at Wilmington, where he was unable to sleep for the bugs and fleas which swarm there, he arrived at Philadelphia on Tuesday at 8 a.m. On the way he saw a Virginian negro, born of negro father and mother, who had changed his colour and become white. He had been black till the age of forty, then the skin on the fingers close to the nails grew gradually paler and paler till it was quite white: on nearly all the rest of his body the same process had taken place.

After a short rest at Philadelphia he set off by stage for "New-Yorck," stopping twenty-four hours in Trenton: then to Providence by way of "Stonning-town," and Newport (August 15th); then by stage again to Boston, forty-five miles, by "Patucket," Taunton and "Dehram" (Durham).

A second trip was made to Thomaston by sea (September 12th), and after a visit of twelve days, the Duke returned to Boston by way of Portsmouth, Exeter, Haverhill, etc.

Finally quitting Boston, he passed through Marlborough, Brookfield, Palmer, Springfield, Westfield, Stockbridge, to Kinderhook, entering New York State to Kingston ("formerly called Esopus"), "New Pattz" (New Paltz), Newburg, New-Windsor, West-Point, Verplank-point, to "New-Yorck." Mineralogical and other scientific observations close this volume.

Volume VI begins with the commencement of a journey from Philadelphia, March 26th, 1797, to Federal City. He passes Wilming-

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[4]The second President of the United States—the estate is still known as Monticello; it is near Charlottetown, Virginia, the seat of the University of Virginia, founded by Jefferson. To us, Jefferson's most prominent characteristic is his hatred of Britain; but he is held in reverent memory (at least ostensibly) by the Democratic Party in the United States as the Father of Democracy.

ton, Brandywine-mills, Newcastle, Chester, Annapolis, and arrives at Federal City (which became Washington, D.C.) to which the seat of government was to be removed the first Monday of December, 1800. Then by water to Alexandria to Baltimore, Hâvre-de-Grace, Elk-town and Philadelphia again. A very full description of Pennsylvania, its history, constitution, laws (civil and criminal), prison system, commerce, banks, etc., with eleven pages devoted to the manners of the people of Philadelphia (who are "universally accused of possessing less hospitality than any other city in the United States," "et il est possible qu'ils méritent cette réputation," but this may perhaps be in part explained by the fact that "les quakers vivent entr'eux et vivent retirés"), completes the sixth volume.

Volume VII contains an account of a journey to Bethlehem and the Jerseys in June, 1797. Germantown and Quakers-Town lead to Bethlehem and the Moravian Brethren whose settlement is described —Nazareth, another Moravian settlement six miles from Bethlehem— Easton, Belvedere (of some twenty houses) Hacketstown, Morristown, Chatham, "Newarck"; then follows a description of New Jersey.

Next we have the account of a stay in "New-Yorck" in August, 1797; here are set out at considerable length his observations on the laws, constitution, etc., of the State, and a description of the City— which "next to Philadelphia is the largest and the finest city in the United States," and whose inhabitants, "in point of hospitality hold a middle place between those of Philadelphia and those of Boston." Some 100 pages of general observations on the United States close the volume.

Volume VIII is entirely taken up with general observations on the United States, commerce, army, relations with the Indians, population, naturalization, coinage, constitution, etc., with many tables. The book concludes with a fervent prayer that France and the United States might draw closer to each other. "May highmindedness and good faith be the bonds which unite them! In international matters as in private life these are the most effective as they are the most honourable"—a prayer which the present writer fervently re-echoes, inserting before the word "France" the word "Britain."

I have carefully compared the translation with the first French edition (Paris, l'an VII, in eight volumes); and have at the foot of the page indicated some deviations from the original—all, I think, which are of any importance and some which may be considered unimportant— thus "Page 383 . . ."

I have not attempted to make the rhetorical, turgid and sometimes obscure English of the translator correspond to the concise, simple and clear French of the author: that would involve rewriting much of the book. In most of the instances in which the translator has misunderstood his author, I have noted the error—any omission in that regard will, I trust, be found to be of no moment.

In the print of Smith's manuscript, the capitalization and orthography have been carefully followed. It will be seen that many of the nouns are written with a capital letter—it is still the practice in German and was once almost universal in English to write all nouns with a capital letter—this custom persisted long even in print, and at least in manuscript well into the nineteenth century.

Some other important words are also capitalized, contrary to the modern usage. The opposite practice of writing gentile nouns with a small letter is found in our first Upper Canada law report, published in 1823, which speaks of "six nation indians," "indians" and "frenchmen." Taylor's Report of Cases in the Court of King's Bench, Upper Canada, York, U.C., The King vs. Phelps, 54 at pp. 59, 61, 62, 63 (although "Indian" and "French" are also found at pp. 57, 61, 64). Gentile adjectives are sometimes spelled by Smith with a small letter as is the French usage—this was not at all unusual in English till toward the middle of the last century.

The orthography of the French edition is the orthography of that day and calls for no comment; that of the English edition shows an uncertainty in the spelling of some words not at all without precedent, "dependant" or "dependent," "smoak" or "smoke," etc., etc. Sometimes a form is used which would not now be employed, e.g., "bason" [391], [398], [552], where we would now use "basin,"; "feldtspar" [571] is probably a mere mistake, as that form was not known in English.

The punctuation of the text closely followed in this reprint, is excessive, often obscuring rather than clarifying: it is seemingly without principle, except to throw in as many commas as possible.

Some English words are employed in a non-English sense, e.g., "expediting" [580], for "dispatching" goods, "certifying" [588] for "verifying," etc. It would almost seem that the translator was as little versed in English as in French—the words are, I think, always used in a sense etymologically correct but frequently not in accordance with usage (I am reminded of the recent use by a French gentleman of excellent English education and speaking English like a native, of the word "edification" in the sense of "house-building," a use wholly proper a century ago, but long out of date, etymologically correct as it is.)

I have availed myself of many sources of information: it would savour of ingratitude if I did not express specially my thanks to Mr. John Ross Robertson for his admirable edition of the Diary of Mrs. Simcoe, the notes to which are a mine of information concerning Upper Canada in those early days.

Amongst others, I am indebted to M. Fauteux, Librarian of the Sulpician Library, Montreal, and M. Arthur Robitaille, Professor of Botany, Laval University, for information concerning Lower Canada.

Professor Bain's courtesy in allowing me to use Smith's notes, etc., is on a par with his uniform kindness in permitting me the

full use of his library, containing, as it does, many valuable and rare volumes bearing on our early history.

It should, at all times, and especially in the present crisis, when the Empire is calling on all her sons, be a matter of pride to know how well Upper Canadians played their part in the infant days of our Province—the ignorant or malignant strictures of La Rochefoucault are harmless to darken the immortal fame of Simcoe, Butler and their fellows; but it is well not to allow them to remain unanswered. I am wholly convinced that his misrepresentations have had something to do with the international illwill long felt by many Americans toward the loyal North.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL.

Osgoode Hall,
October, 1916.

François Alexandre Frédéric La Rochefoucault-Liancourt.

From the John Ross Robertson Historical Collection, Toronto

TOUR THROUGH UPPER CANADA.

Saturday, the 20th of June, 1795.

[Page **380**.] The vessels, in which we crossed the river Niagara, belong to the English, and are, for this reason, in a better condition than the major part of the American vessels or ferries, which are entirely left to the will and pleasure of the owners, without any public officer taking the least notice of their condition, and providing for the safety of travellers. The ferry consisted in a vessel of considerable capacity, the sides of which were one foot and a half high; it was tolerably staunch, and sufficiently large, to contain five horses without any apparent danger. The master of the vessel is directed to write down the names of the passengers; our's were already known. General Simcoe, governor of Upper Canada, informed of our journey by Mr. Hammond, the English ambassador to the United States, had long ago given notice by the post of our expected [**381**] arrival. Mr. Guillemard, who had crossed over on the preceding evening had announced our intended arrival on the next morning; and the Captain of an English frigate, which was receiving some repairs on the opposite bank, sent us his boat, as soon as he perceived us. Our guide, PONDRIT, had preceded us to the river to call the ferrymen; and the ferry arriving sooner than the boat, of the destination of which we were ignorant, we stepped into the former. The passage from the American to the English side requires four or five minutes, and from the English to the American shore about a quarter of an hour. Fort Erie stands on the shore of the lake, about two miles above the ferry. The commandant had desired the captain of the frigate to supply his place, until he should be able to visit us himself. We thought it right to return this act of civility, by immediately setting out to present to him our passports. We did so, though we were not dressed to pay a visit of ceremony; but the rain having made our appearance still worse, we determined on drying our clothes at the inn, until the weather should clear up, and permit us to proceed to the fort. We were not yet dressed, when the commandant arrived at the inn, and invited us to dinner, acquainting us, at the same time, that he was directed to shew us every

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Page 380. "Simcoe" is invariably written "Simcoë" in the original French.

Page 381. "Pondrit" is "poudrit" in the original. "Erie" is "Erié." The French word translated "frigate" is "frégate," which has a somewhat more flexible meaning than our word "frigate"—"vaisseau de guerre moindre que le vaisseau de ligne."

[**382**] civility in his power. This invitation was very agreeable to us; a dinner at a Governor's, after three day's travelling through woods, is a real feast. We accordingly attended him to the fort.

Fort Erie, as it is called, though we know not why,* consists of some houses roughly formed of wood, and surrounded with tottering palisadoes. It has neither a rampart, a covert-way, nor any other works. The buildings, which are all of them block-houses, are inhabited by the officers, soldiers, and a commissary of provision. Without the precincts of the fort, stand four similar houses, destined for the habitation of the workmen, and a large magazine, or store-house, belonging to the king. The upper story juts out beyond the ground floor, so that all who should attempt to approach the store-house, might be easily kept off with firelocks, by means of openings made in the upper story.† This fort is to be considered merely as a point of defence against the Indians for the British trade on the lake, at the extremity of which it stands. The term [**383**] FORT, in its usual import, cannot by any means be applied to this place, which is even now in a worse situation than formerly, since the impending surrender of the forts situated on the opposite shore to the Americans, leaves the English no alternative, but to have either no forts at all on this side of the lake, or to put those which they shall maintain in a respectable state of defence. Fort Erie is garrisoned by a company of the fifth regiment, the captain of which company is, at the same time, the commandant of the place. Captain PRATT holds this command at present; on account of his long service, he has been nominated major by brevet. The duty of the soldiers, who form the garrison, consists in standing sentries; but they are also obliged to serve on board the ships, which belong to the government. Almost all the provision, and all ammunition, without exception, come from England, and across the lakes. The navigation on the river Niagara ends seven miles above Lake Ontario, whence there is a land-conveyance as far as Chippaway, nine miles distant, where the navigation for boats and other small vessels recommences, extending as far as Fort Erie. Here the goods, destined for Fort Détroit, are laden in ships, navigated by soldiers from Fort Erie to Fort Chippaway. The return passage is [**384**] extremely difficult; and for this laborious task, they are allowed only fifteen shillings, to be distributed among five men, who compose the crew.*

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*Dr. Morse says that Fort Erie is a *strong fortification;* an assertion which it is impossible to reconcile with the description given by the Duke, but by supposing it to have undergone considerable improvement since 1795. —*Translator.*

†Buildings of this construction are very common in the United States, as well as in British America: they are called block-houses.—*Author.* (This is part of the text in the French edition.)

Page 382. "Governor" is "Commandant" in the original; the mistake is the translator's. "Block-houses" in the original "log-houses." "United States"—"l'Amérique libre."

Page 383. "Chippaway"—"Chippawa."

*This, no doubt, is in addition to their pay as soldiers.—*Translator.*

The soldiers have a garden, where they cultivate the necessary vegetables, which by any other means they would not be able to procure. Their allowance of provision, which consists in a pound of flour, a pound of salt pork, four ounces of rice, and a little butter, a day, is, no doubt, paid for by the government at a very high rate; but to the soldiers it is delivered for two pence halfpenny a ration, which is deducted from their pay, amounting to six pence per day. All the troops, quartered in Canada, are treated in the same manner. Another company of the same regiment is at Fort Chippaway, and the remaining eight companies form the garrison of North Niagara†. Fort Détroit, and several other forts, which the English still hold in their possession, but which are to be given up to the Americans, are garrisoned by the twenty-fifth regiment. Fort Détroit stands at the end of Lake Erie, on [**385**] the strait or river, which separates it from Lake St. Clair. It was erected about the year 1740. The inhabitants are mostly French, and consist of about three hundred families. It is said to be in a very flourishing condition. About one hundred artillerymen are distributed in Détroit, Fort Niagara, and some other places, which I shall have occasion to mention. The troops generally remain seven years in Canada, during which time the garrisons relieve each other every year. But the war in Europe, and the fear of a rupture with America, have occasioned various alterations in these ordinary arrangements. The regiments now remain three years in the same place; a change, with which they alone are pleased, to whose lot it falls to garrison the small forts. For the same reasons, the regiments at present have but half their complements.

A store-house, belonging to a private gentleman, is also included within Fort Erie, but stands apart from the buildings, which appertain to government. In this magazine are warehoused all the goods, which come upwards, and are destined for Détroit, as well as those which go down the river to Niagara, Kingston, Montreal, Quebec, &c. They are forwarded to their places of destination, either in boats, when they go down the river, or in large vessels, when they are [**386**] destined for Détroit. The trade on Lake Erie is carried on in four or five merchantmen, besides three or four armed yachts belonging to the king.

Peltry is the chief commodity exported from Détroit; but we also saw several casks of very fine maple sugar, made by the Indians. We were informed, that the quantity of this article, which passes yearly through this place, is very considerable; but were not able to learn its exact value in money. The owner of the store-house hires, at times, about twenty Canadians, for the shipping and unshipping of the goods.

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†Fort Niagara, as well as the other forts mentioned by the Author, were surrendered up to the Americans in July 1796.—*Translator.*

Page 384. "necessary" is an interpolation. "Fort Chippaway"—"Chippawa."

Page 385. "Three hundred families"—"Trois mille familles." "Kingston"—"Kingstown." "Montreal"—"Mont-Réal."

Page 386. "yachts"—"Sloops," a wholly proper designation.

for carrying them into the magazine, and transporting the boats by land to the lower country. The Canadians no sooner learned, that we were Frenchmen, than they expressed to us a satisfaction, attachment, and respect, repeated demonstrations of which our peculiar situation obliged us to avoid.

The Chippaway, a king's yacht, commanded by Captain HARA, arrived here during our residence in the fort. He had been seven days passing the strait, which ships frequently clear in two days.

Hard cash or specie is extremely scarce in this corner of the world. It can come only from Lower Canada, but they like to keep it in Quebec and Montreal. Nay, the paymaster of the [387] troops, on pretence that the conveyance is dangerous, sends no specie for the troops, though he receives their pay in hard cash. He could most certainly not refuse it to the paymasters of the regiments, if, for that purpose, they proceeded to Montreal or Quebec, where he resides. But to undertake this journey at the expense of the corps, would occasion too considerable a reduction from their money, which should reach its destination without the least diminution. He accordingly remits it in bills of exchange, which are paid in paper-money, that every one makes to any amount he chooses, and which nevertheless is universally received with a degree of confidence, equal to that which obtained in France in the second year of the revolution. There are *notes* of this kind of only two pence in value. They are small strips of paper, either written or printed, frequently without any signature, and mostly effaced and torn.

During our dinner several Indians arrived in boats. They formed a small camp on the banks of the river, which we visited on our return. We experienced from them the most cordial reception, to which, perhaps, the state of one of our companions, not dissimilar to that in which most of these drinkers of rum found themselves, contributed not a little.

[388] *Sunday, the 21st of June.*

After a hearty breakfast on board the Chippaway frigate, where we learned, that this vessel, which is about four hundred tuns burthen, and pierced for sixteen guns, cost five thousand pounds sterling! —a proof of the enormous price of labour in this country—we embarked for Chippaway. Major Pratt insisted on our taking our passage in a vessel belonging to government, as he had particular orders to that

Page 386. "Chippaway"—"Chippawa." "Hara"—"Haro." "Yacht"—"Sloop." "Seven days passing the Strait"—"Sept jours dans la traversée depuis le Detroit," i.e., "Seven days in coming from Detroit." "Montreal"—"Mont-Réal."

Page 387. "Montreal"—"Mont-Réal." "Two pence"—"deux sols," i.e., "two half pence." "Boats"—"pirogues."

Page 388. "Chippaway"—"Lotowha." "Four hundred tuns"—"d'environ 40 tonneaux," i.e., "about 40 tons." "Chippaway"—"Chippawa."

effect. He manned it with six soldiers, who were excellent hands at rowing; and also directed Lieutenant FAULKNER to attend us as far as Niagara. No denial, on our part, could prevail with him to withhold this act of civility, which, even during my prosperity, would have embarrassed me, and which now bore the appearance of scorn rather than politeness. We were, therefore, obliged to submit, and to assume the air of persons, whose rank demanded this distinction. We were now approaching the prospect of the Grand Cataract of Niagara, one of the principal objects of our journey, and which I had long desired to see. We formed, every one of us, different ideas of this waterfall, according to our different powers of fancy; each stroke of the oars brought us nearer to it, and our attention being entirely [**389**] turned to discover the foam, and hear the noise, we took but little notice of the banks of the river, which, on the side of Canada, are tolerably settled, of the uncommon width of its channel, or the majestic course of its stream. At last we heard the noise, and perceived the spray. The weather was rather unfavourable, so that we could not, at any considerable distance, enjoy this grand spectacle. The rapidity of the stream, which is perceptible several miles from the falls, soon carried us to Chippaway. A whole mile before you reach that place, you must keep close under the shore, without which precaution the stream would soon involve the boat, and irresistibly hurl it to destruction. You must even make the utmost exertion in rowing to remount the Chippaway Creek, from which the fort takes its name.

We had no sooner landed, than, with the utmost impatience, we hastened to the falls, scarcely returning with due attention the civilities we experienced from Captain HAMILTON, commandant of the fort. We accepted, however, his invitation to dinner, which on our account he kindly deferred until four o'clock, mounted our horses, and, with Lieutenant Faulkner, proceeded to the falls. The distance of Chippaway from the falls, in a straight line, is but a mile and a half: but the banks of the river form so [**390**] many flexures, that the road, which winds along them, is three miles long.

At Chippaway the grand spectacle begins. The river, which has been constantly expanding from Fort Erie to this place, is here upwards of three miles wide: but on a sudden it is narrowed, and the rapidity of the stream redoubled by the declivity of the ground on which it flows, as well as the sudden contraction of its bed. The channel is rocky; and the interspersed fragments of rocks encrease the violence of the stream. The country is flat and even to this point: but here a range of white rocks arises on each side of the river, which is contracted

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Page 388. After "demanded this distinction," the original text has "Nos chevaux ont été nous attendre au lieu où nous devions debarquer"—"Our horses were to await us at our point of debarkation."

Page 389. "Foam"—"vapeur," i.e., "spray." "Chippaway"—"Chippawa" (three times). (As this spelling is constant, we shall not again notice it.)

to half a mile's breadth. This range is a branch of the Alleghany mountains*, which, proceeding from Florida, previously to their reaching this point, intersect the whole continent of America. The river, more closely hemmed in by the rocks on the right, incroaching upon its channel, branches into two arms, one of which flows along the bank, formed by the rocks on the right; and the other, far more considerable, being separated by [**391**] a small island, makes straight on to the left, and sweeps through a bason of stone, which it fills with much foam and noise. At length, being again obstructed by other rocks, which it meets on its right, it alters its course with redoubled violence, and along with the right arm rushes down a perpendicular ledge of rocks one hundred and sixty feet high†, nearly half concave, and probably worn out by the incessant impetuosity of the waters. Its width is nearly equal to that of its bed, the uniformity of which is only interrupted by an island, which separates the two arms, rests unshaken on its rocky basis, and seems, as it were, to swim between the two streams, which rush down at once into this stupendous chasm. The waters of the lakes Erie, Michigan, St. Clair, Huron, and Lake Superiour, and of the numerous rivers, emptying themselves into these lakes, incessantly replace the water that thus dashes down. The water of the falls tumbles perpendicularly on the rocks. Its colour is at times a dark green, at others a foaming white, brilliant throughout, and displaying a thousand variegations, as it is struck by the rays of the sun, or, according to the time [**392**] of the day, the state of the atmosphere, the force of the wind, &c. The water, which rushes down the rocks, rises in part in a thick column of mist, aften towering above the height of the falls, and mixing with the clouds. The remainder, broken in its perpendicular descent by fragments of rocks, is in continual agitation; spouts and foams, and casts on shore logs of wood, whole trees, boats, and wrecks, which the stream has swept along in its course. The bed of the river, formed by the two ridges of rocks which extend a great way farther, is still more narrowed, as if part of this mighty stream had vanished during the fall, or were swallowed up by the earth. The noise, agitation, irregularity, and rapid descent of the stream, continue seven or eight miles farther on, and the river does not become suffi-

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Page 390. "Alleghany"—"Alleganys." After "the river," (where it occurs the second time on this page) the name is given in the original, "Saint-Laurent, ici nommé rivière de Niagara."

*This principal ridge of the Alleghany mountains, which extend northeast and southeast, nearly parallel to the sea coast, about nine hundred miles in length, and from sixty to one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles in breadth, is descriptively named *the back-bone of the United States.* —*Translator.*

†Other accounts say, that the perpendicular height at the cataract is only one hundred and thirty-seven or one hundred and fifty feet.—*Translator.*

Page 391. "Its width is nearly equal to that of its bed"—"Là elle tombe en formant une nappe presqu' égale dans toute son étendue," i.e., "there it falls in a sheet almost uniform throughout its whole extent." "The waters of the falls"—"Les eaux des deux cascades."

"Brilliant throughout"—"Quelquefois absolument limpide," i.e., "sometimes absolutely clear," limpid.

ciently placid for a safe passage till it reaches Queenstown*, nine miles from the falls.

I crept down to the cataract; the descent is very difficult; perpendicular steps, hewn out of trees, caverns, and projecting rocks, the scattered fragments of which warn the traveller of the danger from the descent, without offering any hold, except some decayed bushes, which the imprudent adventurer who should place any dependence [**393**] on them, would carry with him into the unfathomed abyss. Every thing seems calculated to strike with terror; but curiosity is as heedless as any other passion. The certain prospect of a splendid fortune would hardly induce me to attempt, what I at this moment did from the mere impulse of curiosity. I frequently crawled along on both hands; the zeal with which I pursued my object gave me a dexterous activity, which I was not conscious of possessing. I several times abandoned myself entirely to chance, and thus I toiled a mile and a half to reach the foot of this stupendous cataract. The pleasing consciousness of having attained our end is the only reward of the exertions, by which we have obtained success. In the course of our life we frequently meet with similar instances.

Near this spot is a whirlpool, the spray of which drenches your clothes even at a distance. The columns of foam, arising from the falls, mix again with the descending stream. The bason itself is hidden by this thick cloud, and the tremendous noise, which is more violent here than anywhere else, is the only enjoyment to be attained. You may proceed a few paces on pieces of rock, lying between the column of water and the rocks from which it rushes down; but here [**394**] you are completely sequestered from the world, you are even deprived of the prospect of the falls by the column of water, which, by its density and motion, intercepts the free access of air to such a degree, that suffocation must unavoidably be the result of a long continuance in this place.

It is impossible to describe the impression, which this cataract made upon our minds. Fancy, which had long cherished the hope of viewing it, now offered pictures, which might seem exaggerated, yet were much inferior to the reality. To attempt a description of the impression we felt, would be equivalent to a description of the falls; an attempt far exceeding our powers. The enthusiasm, which seized my soul at the aspect of this magnificent spectacle, was too powerful to be weakened by our unpleasant journey back to the Fort; and it was not until I arrived at Captain Hamilton's, that I found leisure to notice my weariness, my hunger, my bruises, the miserable condition of my clothes, and the time of the day.—It was two o'clock.

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*In Upper Canada, on the west side of the straits of Niagara.—*Translator.*

Page 393. "Foam"—"vapeurs."

Poor Lieutenant Faulkner, who thought himself obliged to attend *my Highness*, unfortunately partook not of my enthusiasm, but merely associated in my struggles with various obstacles, and bore his share of contusions and fatigue. In [**395**] spite of his excessive politeness, he seemed extremely sad and dull, until some glasses of wine had cheered up his spirits.

Captain Hamilton, commandant of Fort Chippaway, which is even inferior in strength to Fort Erie, was so kind as to detain us to dinner. The *ennui* naturally resulting from this dreary post, the most dull of any, is beguiled by the society of a handsome, sweet, and lovely wife, and six children, who constantly surround him. They both received us in that plain, cordial, and easy manner, which characterises persons who have constantly frequented the best society.

Chippaway was formerly the chief place of an Indian tribe, which now inhabit the borders of Virginia. The carriage rendered necessary by the water-fall and its continued effects ends here. Previous to the treaty of peace of 1783, vessels were laden and discharged on the other side of the river near fort Slusher*, opposite Chippaway.

Besides the barracks, here as at Fort Erie, are store-houses, which belong to government; and others appertaining to merchants. The whole village consists of a tolerable inn, and a small number of other houses; the stagnant water of [**396**] the creek renders it very unhealthy, and to this circumstance are imputed the endemic fevers which every year afflict the inhabitants of the place.

Monday, the 22nd of June.

We left Chippaway early in the morning, with an intention of once more visiting the falls. The rain, which fell in torrents, could not deter us from our design. I saw it now from a spot, from which Mr. de Blacons had viewed it the preceding evening, and to which he desired to conduct us. This place is known in the country by the name of Table-Rock, and forms a part of the rock over which the river precipitates itself. You here stand in the midst of its bed, and almost in the water, so that you can, with perfect safety, see the river rushing down at your feet; but, advancing only two paces, you would be hurried to destruction. On this spot you also enjoy the beautiful prospect of the foaming water dashing along over the rapids of the awful fall, from which you are not separated by any intervening object, and of the tremendous whirlpool, which engulfs it. It is *from this spot*, that this wonder of nature should be viewed, if you would see it but *from one spot*. But it ought to be contemplated from all sides: [**397**] your astonishment will constantly rise, and you will behold and admire in awful silence.

Page 394. "My Highness"—"Ma Grace."
*The author misnames the fort, which he calls fort Skuyler.—*Translator.*
Page 395. "Fort Slusher"—"Sckuyler."

The descent is more easy to the Table-Rock than to any other spot. It is much to be regretted, that the government of a people, which surpasses all other nations for fondness in travelling and curiosity, should not have provided convenient places for observing this celebrated phenomenon, at all possible points of view. It is pleaded in excuse, that the number of travellers, whom curiosity leads to this spot, is inconsiderable; that even they, who travel this way on account of business, and stop here to view the falls, are few in number; that only hunting Indians and idle children form the idea of creeping down to the falls; and that consequently nobody would be benefited by the money expended in providing an easy access. Yet all these pleas cannot justify a saving of thirty dollars, for which expense the greatest curiosity in the known world would be rendered accessible.

It is superfluous to mention, that, notwithstanding the severity of the winter in this country, the *cataract,* as well as the river above it are never frozen. But this is not the case with the lakes, and smaller rivers, which supply it with water. Enormous flakes of ice rush constantly down this cataract when the thaw sets in [**398**] without being entirely dashed to pieces on the rocks; and thus are frequently piled in huge masses, up to half its height. With the noise, occasioned by the falls, we were less struck than we expected; and Mr. Guillemard, as well as myself, who had both seen the Rhine-fall near Schafhausen, could not but acknowledge, that the noise it produces is far more striking. Yet, I must repeat it again and again, that nothing can stand the test of comparison with the Falls of Niagara. Let no one expect to find here something pleasing, wildly beautiful or romantic; all is wonderfully grand, awful, sublime; every power of the soul is arrested; the impression strikes deeper, the longer you contemplate, and you feel more strongly the impossibility of any expressions doing justice to your perceptions and feelings.

About a mile above the falls, two corn-mills and two saw-mills have been constructed in the large bason, formed by the river on the left. We examined, with peculiar attention, the most distant of them. It is the most remarkable chiefly on this account, that the logs are cut here into boards, thrown into the Chippaway creek near its mouth, and by means of a small lock conveyed into a canal, formed within the bed of the river by a double row of logs of timber, fastened together and floating on the water. The [**399**] breaking of these is prevented by other large balks floating at a certain distance from each other, which form, as it were, the basis of this artificial canal. The water retains in this canal the rapidity of the current, and conveys the logs into the lower part of the mill, where, by the same machinery which moves the saws, the logs are lifted upon the jack and cut into boards. Only two saws at a time are employed in this mill. The power of the water is

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Page 397. "Table-rock"—"la tableroke."
Page 398. "Schafhausen"—"Shafousen."
Page 399. "Jack"—"chantier," i.e., "bed of the saw."

almost boundless, but the present wants of the country do not require a greater number of saws. The very intelligent owner of the mill has constructed it on a plan, which admits of the addition of a greater number of courses, according as these shall be required by an increased consumption. On the same principle he has built his corn-mill, which has at present only four courses. The miller's dues for grinding, as fixed by the legislative power, amounts to a twelfth throughout all Upper Canada, and for sawing logs to a moiety of the wood sawed.

In the course of last year a sulphureous spring was discovered at a few yards distance from the bank of the river, which was, however, filled up by the fall of earth crumbling from its verge. This spring has again of late shewn itself in the canal, which conveys the blocks to the mill. A stone [**400**] laid over the spring, prevents its water from being mixed with that of the river. On the approach of a fire-brand the vapour or steam kindles, assumes the colour of burning spirit of wine, and burns down to the bottom. Much time will probably elapse, before an enquiry shall be instituted, whether this spring be endowed with any medicinal powers.

An iron-mine, too, has lately been discovered near Chippaway creek. A company has associated for the working of this mine, and resolved on erecting an iron-forge in the vicinity of the falls. But this they dare not establish without the governor's permission; for the mother country still persists in supplying all its colonies with its own manufactures; and refuses to relinquish a monopoly, that has already cost it that part of America, which composes the United States*. But the company hope to obtain the desired permission.

The land all along the road from Chippaway to New York is seemingly good, though not of the best quality, and exhibits a considerable number of dwelling-houses. The grants of land, made by the government in this country, are some of them [**401**] of a recent, others of a more ancient date; the first settlements are hardly ten years old, and the major part only three or four. The houses, entirely built with logs, are better constructed, and more cleanly than in most other parts of the United States. The mode of agriculture appears to be much the same, as in other parts of the Union. The common price of land in this neighborhood is one pound, New York currency, or two dollars and

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Page 399. "Four courses"—"deux paires de meules," i.e., "two run of stone." "Yards"—"toises," i.e., "fathoms." "Blocks"—"Arbres," i.e., "trees or logs."

*Impolitic disputes, chiefly relative to the right of taxation, not this monopoly, occasioned the dismemberment of the British Empire in America. —*Translator.*

Page 400. "That part of America which composes the United States"—"l'Amérique." "New York"—"Navy-Hall ou Newarck"—a mere mistake of the translator, or perhaps a misprint.

Page 401. "Than in most other parts of the United States"—"Que celles que l'on voit communément dans les États-Unis," i.e., "than are commonly seen in the United States"—the translator's mistake. "As in other parts of the Union"—there is nothing in the French text corresponding to this.

RESIDENCE OF ROBERT HAMILTON, QUEENSTON.

From the John Ross Robertson Historical Collection, Toronto

half an acre, if the proportion of the cleared ground to the wooded be as forty to two hundred, or nearly so. Peculiar circumstances, a favourable situation, more extensive buildings, &c., enhance the price. Throughout this whole tract of country, labourers are not easily procured; and they receive, besides their board, from five to six shillings per day. The winter continues only from the middle of December to the beginning of April.

The roads from fort Erie to Newark are tolerably open, and lie for the most part over a sandy ground, which renders it more easy to keep them in repair. The frequent passage to and fro, in this part the country, does not destroy them. Such commodities, as are destined for the upper country, are unshipped in Queen's Town, and goods, expedited from it, are embarked in this place. The different buildings, constructed three [**402**] years ago, consist of a tolerable inn, two or three good store-houses, some small houses, a block-house of stone, covered with iron, and barracks, which should be occupied by the regiment of General Simcoe, but which are now unoccupied, the regiment being quartered in another part of the province. Mr. Hamilton, an opulent merchant, who is concerned in the whole inland trade of this part of America, possesses, in Queen's Town, a very fine house, built in the English style; he has also a farm, a distillery, and tan-yard. This merchant bears an excellent character; he is a member of the Legislature of Upper Canada, but at present in England.

The portage was formerly on the other side of the river; but as this, by virtue of the treaty, falls under the American dominion; government has removed it hither. The whole country, though extremely sandy, is covered with oaks, chestnuts, and fine hickory trees, and such parts, as are better watered, bear, in common with all other parts of America, ash and maple-trees.

It was on this spot, that Mr. de la JONQUIERE, commissioned by the French Court to secure the free navigation of the lakes to French traders, formed his first settlements, which by permission, and under the protection of the Indian tribe of the Yonnowshouans, (who, with many [**403**] other tribes, have vanished from this part of the globe), were afterwards transferred to Niagara.

From the civil treatment we experienced, as soon as we reached the boundaries of the government of General Simcoe, we could not but

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Page 401. "Newark"—Newarck" (this spelling will not again be noticed; it is uniform throughout the French text). "The frequent passage"—"Le passage assez fréquent des voitures," i.e., "the fairly frequent passing of vehicles." "Queen's Town"—"Queenstown."

Page 402. "The regiment"—"le regiment de chasseurs," i.e., "the regiment of Rangers."

After "an excellent character," the French text has "il est de l'espèce d'hommes la plus precieuse pour un nouveau pays," i.e., "He is the most valuable kind of man for a new country"—an enconium which all we know of Hamilton shows to be well-deserved. "Yonnowshouans"—"Yñowshouans."

expect a kind reception on his part; and yet the event exceeded our expectation. No sooner was he informed of our arrival, than he sent his adjutant-general to invite us to dinner. Having just alighted from his horse, he could not come himself. We accepted his invitation, and shortly after dinner, he entreated us to remain with him, to sleep in his house, and consider ourselves as at home. To refuse this invitation would have ill corresponded with the politeness of his conduct, of the sincerity of which we were convinced. By accepting it, we greatly promoted our own convenience, as we had no visits to pay in the town, which is full half a mile distant from the Governor's house, and could not but expect to be most agreeably entertained in his society, and to obtain from him the most satisfactory information respecting the country, which so forcibly engaged our curiosity and attention.

We soon understood, that we should be obliged to continue longer in Niagara than we originally designed. On my acquainting General Simcoe [**404**] with my intention to proceed to Quebec, he informed me, that, without the express permission of Lord DORCHESTER, it was not in his power to allow any foreigner to enter Lower Canada: he even shewed the Governor-general's positive orders to that effect, issued in the month of October, and occasioned by the conduct of some Frenchmen. Although the wise measures of prevention, adopted by the Governor-general, as well as all other steps tending to avert a revolution, met with my fullest approbation; yet I could not but find it extremely unpleasant, that Mr. Hammond in so positive a manner should have assured me of Lord Dorchester's perfect concurrence with him on the score of my intended journey. On his asserting that a passport, granted by him, was the only sufficient mean to enable a foreigner to proceed from the United States into Lower Canada, I entreated him, in addition to this passport, to write a letter to Lord Dorchester, who, by ordering the subordinate commander to let us pass, would have saved us a tedious delay in our journey, and the uneasiness naturally arising from our incommoding General Simcoe for such a length of time. Yet, we were necessitated to conceal our dissatisfaction, and wait until Lord Dorchester could send his [**405**] answer to Kingston, to which I requested him to direct it.

I employed my long residence in Niagara, to acquire some knowledge of the country, the attainment of which was greatly facilitated by the generous openness of Governor Simcoe.

So late as in the year 1791, the administration of Upper Canada was separated from that of Lower Canada. It formerly constituted a

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Page 404. "that Mr. Hammond . . . Lower Canada," "que M. Hammond m'eût assuré avec tant de confiance, qu'il était convenu avec Lord Dorchester, et à la demande de celui-ci que son passeport serait le seul moyen et le moyen suffisant pour un étranger d'entrer des Etats-unis dans le Bas-Canada," i.e., "that Mr. Hammond had assured me so confidently that he had arranged with Lord Dorchester (and at Lord Dorchester's request) that his (Hammond's) passport should be a sufficient and the only means for a stranger to enter Lower Canada from the United States."

part of the province of Quebec. The administration of it was much the same as that of the English colonies, and depended entirely on the will and pleasure of the Governor; yet was undoubtedly here conducted with still more precaution, not only because Lord Dorchester, by all accounts, is a man of a mild and just disposition, but also because the lesson, given by the United States, will not prove altogether fruitless. The British Parliament, at the same time when it divided these two tracts of the province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada, gave them a representative form of government, which, though all the springs of this political machine are yet in the hands of the Governor-general, is framed in such a manner, that if this country should grow more populous, more opulent and enlightened, it will not prove an arduous task, to rescue the management of public affairs from this influence, which [**406**] at present is very great, and, in the actual state of things, perhaps absolutely necessary.

Lord Dorchester is Governor-general of the British possessions in North America; the governors of the different provinces are only lieutenant-governors; who, whenever he appears, yield to his superior authority; and are also responsible to him in all military affairs, if they be gentlemen of the army, which is by no means an indispensable qualification for the place of a lieutenant-governor. In regard to state-affairs of whatever nature and complexion, the lieutenant-governor corresponds immediately with the English ministry. It is from them he receives his order and instructions, without being obliged to communicate them to the Governor-general, who is not even possessed of the right, on leaving the different districts of his government, to give the smallest directions for what is to be done during his absence. For this reason the Governor-general, except when pressing military arrangements call him from the chief town of his government, constantly resides there, while the lieutenant-governor, who has no business in that place, keeps as much as possible at a distance from it. But as no accounts of any public expenditure pass, without being signed by the Governor-general, he possesses a powerful influence over all sorts of [**407**] operations and projects, which at least require his approbation; an influence that extends through all the different branches of his government.

The British possessions in North America are divided into Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. Only the first two of these provinces are governed by the new constitution. The others are governed as in former times.

The boundary between Upper and Lower Canada lies about one hundred miles above Montreal*. The extent of Upper Canada far ex-

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Page 405. "Governor-General"—"des gouverneurs." Page 406. "State-affairs"—"les rapports civils," i.e., "in civil matters."

*The line between Upper and Lower Canada commences at a stone boundary on the N. bank of Lake St. Francis, in St. Lawrence River, in the cove W. of *Point au Boudet*, thence northerly to Ottawas River and to its source in Lake Tomiscaning, thence due N. till it strikes the boundary of Hudson's Bay or New Britain.—*Translator.*

ceeds that of Lower Canada, as, the western boundary being undefined, it comprises all the known and unknown countries, extending as far as the Pacific or Great Sea, and is bounded northwards also by unknown countries. The population of Lower Canada is estimated at about one hundred and forty thousand souls, and that of Upper Canada at thirty thousand, but this estimate seems rather high†.

[**408**] The leading articles of the new constitution of Canada are as follows:—

That the Province of Quebec be divided into two Provinces: Upper and Lower Canada.

That it have two houses of legislature; one hereditary; one elective.

That Upper Canada be destined for the reception chiefly of British settlers.

That the allotment of lands in Upper Canada be, under certain restrictions, left to the authority of the local legislature.

That the representative house of legislature be septennially elected.

That the clergy be provided for by an ample allotment of lands, amounting to one-seventh.

That certain titles of honour be connected with the right to a seat in the hereditary house of legislature.

That the liberty of introducing more or less of the municipal law of England be left to the discretion of the Provincial Assembly.

Upper Canada is a new country, or rather a country yet to be formed. It was probably for this reason General Simcoe accepted the government of it. He was fully aware of the advantages, which his native land might derive from such a colony, if it attained perfection; and imagined, that means might be found adequate to [**409**] this purpose. This hope was the only incitement, which could impel a man of independent fortune, and, as he says, of confined wishes, to leave the large and beautiful estates he possesses in England, and to bury himself in a wilderness among bears and savages. Ambition at least appears not to have been his motive, as a man in General Simcoe's situation is furnished with abundant means of distinguishing himself by useful activity, without removing to a great distance from his native country, where,

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†Dr. Morse estimates the population of both these provinces at one hundred and fifty thousand souls. Lower Canada, in 1794, contained one hundred and thirteen thousand and twelve inhabitants.—*Translator.*

Page 407. "As the Western boundary being undefined, etc."—"Puisqu'elle n'a du côté de l'ouest, pour bornes, que celles de la souveraineté anglaise, qui, dans l'opinion des Anglais, embrasse tous les pays connus et à connaître, etc.," i.e., "As it has on the West no boundaries except those of the English territory, which as the English think, embraces all the lands known and to be discovered as far as the Pacific Ocean."

Page 408. The Articles of the Constitution of the two Canadas as given by the translator are not at all those in the text; La Rochefoucault gives, section by section, a very fair abstract of the Constitutional Act of 1791, 31 George III., c. 31, covering nine pages of his work. "Probably" has no corresponding word in the French.

in such a case, he is almost sure of being forgotten. But, whatever have been his motives, his design has been attended with consequences highly beneficial.

The plan conceived by General Simcoe for peopling and improving Upper Canada seems, as far as he has communicated it to us, extremely wise and well arranged. The central point of all his settlements, and of the population of this country, he means to place between Détroit River and the plantations already established in Lower Canada, within a square formed by Lake Ontario, Lake Erie, Détroit River, and Lake Huron. From a supposition that the Fort of Niagara would certainly remain in the possession of the English, he at first intended to make Newark the chief town of his government. But, since it has been **[410]** decided*, that this fort is to be given up, he has been obliged to alter his plan. A chief town or capital must not be seated on the frontiers, and much less under the guns of the enemy's fort. He has since thought of York, situated on the northern bank of Lake Ontario, nearly opposite to Niagara†; it is in this place he has quartered his regiment, and he intends to remove thither himself when he shall withdraw from the frontiers.

York, from its extent, security, and situation, offers an excellent road. The communication between Lake Ontario and Lake Huron is facilitated by several rivers and small lakes. The surrounding territory possesses a good soil, and affords all possible means to improve the trade on the lake. Even in a military point of view its situation is very advantageous. The banks of Lake Ontario are likely to be first peopled by the Americans, and to become most populous; and Lower Canada will always prove to them an object of jealousy and envy rather than Upper Canada. On this ground it is extremely important, to choose a **[411]** situation, which renders it more easy to succour such points as are most exposed to an attack. Yet Governor Simcoe seems to have relinquished the idea of establishing his residence, and the seat of government, at York. He intends to remove them to the banks of a river, which is to be found in all maps under the name of De la Franche, and which he has named the Thames. This river, which rises between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario, but is not yet sufficiently explored, is supposed not to be far distant from the Miami or Great

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*By the Treaty of 1794.—*Translator.*

†York, designed to be the seat of the government of Upper Canada, is situated on the north-west side of Lake Ontario, forty miles north by west from Niagara Fort, and one hundred and twenty west-south-west from Kingston.—*Translator.*

Page 410. "York"—"Yorck," always. "When he shall withdraw. . ." —"Pour s'éloigner de la frontière," i.e., "in order to withdraw, etc., etc." "An excellent road"—"Une rade admirable," i.e., "an excellent roadstead."

Page 411. "de la Franche" (Smith corrected this with a pen, changing the initial F into a T, the original has the correct spelling.) "The Miami or Great River"—"La grande rivière," a mistake of the translator. "Four or five miles" is found also in the original French—of course an error in omitting "hundred."

River. It flows four or five miles in a south-west direction, and empties itself into Lake St. Clair. It is the Governor's intention to build his chief town, to which he has already given the name of London, about two hundred miles distant from the lake. A communication between this river and another, which falls into Lake Huron, may be easily established, in the vicinity of Gloucester, and by land-carriage a communication may also be opened with Lake Ontario. The Governor is at the same time master of these two lakes, as well as of Lake Erie, which, though fifteen miles distant, he can reach without any intervening portage, but one of three miles. Moreover, that part of Lake Erie, which lies nearest to the projected capital (Long Point), is exactly the most important point for the defence [**412**] of the lake, and on this point, which lies opposite to the American settlement on the peninsula, the Governor means to form a harbour, and erect considerable works for its protection. If the capital be situated on this spot, it will of consequence enjoy several advantages, besides those which York would afford. It stands nearer the centre of the expected population: is more remote from the parts belonging to the Indians: and the Governor intends to station the troops, which yet occupy the forts to be delivered up to the Americans, in the posts of Gloucester on Lake Huron, of Long Point on Lake Erie, of Michigan, in two or three towns, which are to be built on the banks of the Thames, and lastly in York. This intended capital is surrounded by all possible means of defence, and is so situated, that it may speedily give succour, wherever it may be wanted.

From the readiness which government displays in granting lands gratis, the Governor entertains not the least doubt of soon obtaining a numerous population. Many families, who at the beginning of the American war embraced the royal cause, have since the conclusion of peace settled on lands, which were bestowed on them gratis. The American soldiers, who fought under the same unfortunate banners, obtained also an indemnification in lands, on which most of them [**413**] have settled. All officers, who served in that war, are likewise entitled to some hundred acres, a certain number of which are already cultivated by them. The Governor is also sanguine in his hopes of procuring many colonists from the United States: he relies on the natural fondness of these people for emigrating, and on their attachment to the English government. There arrive indeed every year a considerable number of families from different parts of the Union: they do not all settle, it is true, but some remain in the country. He also reckons upon drawing numerous settlers from New Brunswick, who cannot endure the climate of that country. And lastly, the considerable emigration

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Page 411. "In the vicinity of Gloucester," refers in the original to the point at which the river falls into Lake Huron. "Long Point" is that part of Lake Erie nearest to the projected capital, London.

Page 412. "On the peninsula"—"L'establissement de Presqu'isle," i.e., "the settlement at Presqu'isle." "of Michigan"—"à la pointe du lac Michigan," i.e., "at the apex of Lake Michigan." "Most of them"—"beaucoup," i.e., "many of them."

from Europe, which he fancies he foresees, affords him certain hopes of obtaining thence a very numerous population. Yet, by his account, the prevailing sentiments of the people render the admission of new inhabitants, who present themselves, rather difficult; especially of those, who come from the United States. For this reason, he sends such colonists, as cannot give a satisfactory account of themselves, into the back country, and stations soldiers on the banks of the lakes, which are in front of them. He would admit every superannuated soldier of the English [**414**] army, and all officers of long service, who are on half-pay, to share in the distribution of such lands as the King had a right to dispose of. He would dismiss every soldier, now quartered in Canada, and give him one hundred acres of land, as soon as he should procure a young man to serve as his substitute. With his views to encrease the population of the country, he blends the design of drawing young Americans into the English service, by which he will augment the number of American families, attached to the King of Great Britain. In the midst of these families of soldiers, which he intends to settle on the lakes, and on all the frontiers towards the United States, he means to place all the officers, who as has already been observed, have any claim on the lands. He proposes thus to form a militia, attached to the King from habit and gratitude; and this he considers as one of the most certain means for suppressing the disturbances, which might be excited by some disaffected new settlers, who inhabit the midland counties, and at the same time as one of the best measures of defence in case of an attack. By this plan of settling amidst the soldiers officers and gentlemen of respectable families, whom he hopes to attract from England, he wishes to form a class of gentry, and to promote more or [**415**] less the execution of the project, clearly discernible in the new constitution, to introduce into the two Canadas an hereditary nobility.

It is asserted that all Canada, vast as is its extent, produces not the necessary corn for the consumption of its inhabitants; the troops are supplied with flour from London, and with salt meat from Ireland. In General Simcoe's opinion Upper Canada is not only capable of satisfying the wants of all its inhabitants, but also of becoming a granary for England, and of creating a considerable trade by the exchange of this necessary of life for other commodities; nor does he entertain the least doubt, but that the activity, in agricultural pursuits, which he endeavours to excite in Upper Canada, will operate as a powerful example in regard to Lower Canada, and rouse it from its present supineness and indolence. He conceives, that the vast quantities of fish, with

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Page 414. "Have any claim on"—"Ont droit à recevoir," i.e., "have the right to receive."

Page 415. What is called "Corn" in the translation, is of course not our Indian corn or maize: the French word translated "corn" is "bled" (in modern French "blé") which generically is "grain" but is here practically synonymous with "froment" "wheat" (I cannot understand why the translator has [587] given "rye" as a translation for "froment.")

which the lakes abound, and especially of sturgeons in Lake Ontario, afford the means of a successful competition with Russia, which supplies England with this article to a very considerable amount.

The corn-trade is, in his judgment, far preferable to the fur-trade, which appears to him at once unprofitable for Great Britain, and a means of oppression to Canada, in as much as it throws the whole trade into the hands of a few companies, [**416**] and at the same time renders them masters of the commodities, which are imported from England in return. It is his wish, that merchants may settle on Lake Ontario, in Montreal, and in Quebec; and, by the establishment of a corn-trade, destroy that monopoly which very justly excites his indignation: and he entertains hopes, that this will actually take place.

The maxims of government, professed by General Simcoe, are very liberal and fair; he detests all arbitrary and military government without the walls of the fort; and desires liberty to its utmost latitude, so far as is consistent with the constitution and law of the land. He is, therefore, by no means ambitious of investing all power and authority in his own hands, but commits to the lieutenants, whom he nominates for each county, the right of appointing the justices of the peace and officers of the militia. By this measure, he thinks, he shall be able to attach men of weight and influence to government, and subordinate officers to their superiors, and thus secure additional resources for preserving the good opinion and affection of the Canadians towards the British Government. All the justices of the peace, whose number is very great indeed, possess the right within their respective districts of assigning, in the King's name, to every settler, with whose conduct [**417**] and principles they are acquainted, a lot of two hundred acres of land. The surveyor of the district is informed by the justice of the peace of the grant, made in favour of the new colonist, and of the oath of allegiance, he has taken; on receiving which information he gives the new settler a certificate, pointing out that part of the district, where he is to find the land, allotted to him by the magistrate. If he should wish for a greater quantity of land, he must apply to the Executive Council.

From the present smallness of the number of the inhabitants of Upper Canada; which, however considerable the migration may be, for a great length of time will bear no proportion to the extent of country to be peopled; General Simcoe entertains not the smallest wish to enlarge his territory at the expense of the Indians; on the contrary, he receives with the utmost kindness those whom the Americans drive from their habitations; and this conduct is extremely wise. If, on the one hand, the policy of the United States require that, in the intermediate space between them and the English, there should not reside a people, who may prove dangerous from their extreme susceptibility of seduction, who cannot be useful on account of their small number, and who, being a

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Page 417. "Habitations"—"territoire," i.e., "territory."

nation that lives by [**418**] hunting, demand a large tract of country for their subsistence; Governor Simcoe may, on the other hand, tolerate them, without the least danger, on the frontier of the English possessions, connect them by this measure more closely with England, and exasperate them against the Americans, in order to take advantage of their hatred in case of need; especially as he finds they will, at any time, cede to him whatever lands he may desire.

Although the fur-trade, in General Simcoe's opinion, is not so profitable to England, as many Englishmen imagine; yet he will not divide its profits with the Americans; who, by the surrender of the forts, acquire a share in the navigation of the lakes, and excellent harbours on their coast; and of consequence, are possessed of every means to participate in this branch of commerce. A communication, he thinks, may easily be opened between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario, by means of St. Joseph's River, which by relieving the fur-traders from the trouble and expense of the circuitous navigation of the Détroit River, of Lake Erie, of the Niagara River, and of a great part of Lake Ontario, would disappoint the United States in their hope of receiving in future, as they have hitherto done, any articles across the lakes from the forests, situate above [**419**] Lake Huron, and would at the same time free English ships from the necessity of passing by the forts of Détroit and Niagara, which are henceforth to belong to the Americans. Nay, he is of opinion, that a direct communication might be established between Lake Huron and St. Lawrence river, which would however require several portages, on account of the numerous rapids which interrupt the navigation of that river, as well as of the small lakes through which it flows.

The plan of military operation conceived by the Governor, in case of a war with the Americans, consists in chiefly drawing them into the English dominions, where, under the protection of his forts, he can fight them to greater advantage. He further intends to establish a respectable navy, composed of small vessels, mounting heavy guns, which no American yacht can dare to engage, and which, if a descent were openly attempted on the territory of the United States, would be well qualified to cover the landing. He also promises himself much from the assistance of his militia, with whom he would make considerable inroads into the heart of the enemy's country. The communication between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario appears to him still more necessary in time of war, as by means of this communication he intends to convey

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Page 418. "On the frontier of the English possessions"—"Derriere les établissements anglais," i.e., "behind the English settlements." "Across the lakes from the forest, situate above Lake Huron"—"par les lacs des Bois, Supérieur, Huron," i.e., "by way of the Lake of the Woods, Lake Superior and Lake Huron."

Page 419. After "St. Lawrence river" is found in the French text, "par la baie de *Quenti*," i.e., "by way of the Bay of Quinté." "yacht"—"chaloupe."

into the latter [**420**] lake the galleys, bomb-ketches and gunboats, which he purposes to build at another town, lying on the Thames, to which he has given the name of Chatham.

The views of Governor Simcoe, I mean those which concern the civil government, are undoubtely extensive, and well planned. They are, in my judgment, the best which can be conceived, in his situation, as an English governor; and the possibility of their being carried into effect cannot be questioned, if he possesses the confidence of government, and has plenty of money to expend. He may also, in the execution of his plans, derive considerable aid from the soldiers, quartered in this province. He is aware of the indispensible necessity of habituating the troops to labour in a country, where he cannot hope to make them masters of a complex system of tactics, and where laborious habits peculiarly fit them for that sort of warfare, which is best adapted to the smallness of their number, to the enemy they have to combat, and to the difficulties they have to encounter.

But the execution of his projects is nevertheless, upon the whole, obstructed by numerous obstacles; the greatest of which consists in the Governor's determination to return to England at the expiration of five years. A plan of such vast [**421**] magnitude, and which comprises so great a variety of designs, can be carried into execution by him only, who was able to conceive it. From the very nature of the principles on which it is built, and the intimate connection of its various parts, the successful execution of such a project, supposes, on the part of the executor, besides a thorough knowledge of its structure and complexion, courage, order, and a laudable ambition of achieving arduous and useful undertakings; requisites, hardly to be met with in any person who may be sent to succeed this governor. If such a one be a man of moderate capacity, he will neither be able to pursue nor to execute a plan, which is not of a nature to be committed to subaltern officers; and if he be possessed of some parts, as is generally the case, self-love will dissuade him from pursuing a plan, laid down by another: and however positive and peremptory his instructions may be, at two thousand miles distance they will be easily evaded. Add to this, that fondness for military power, and the love of arbitrary authority are in every region of the globe the usual attributes of men in power. If, therefore, General Simcoe should execute his design of leaving Upper Canada, two years hence, he will hardly find sufficient time to lay the foundations of a plan, which appear to him, and I [**422**] think very justly, extremely well adapted to promote the prosperity of Upper Canada, and greatly enlarge the interests of Great Britain. The various branches of this plan, are so extensive and so numerous, that a long series of

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Page 420. "If he possesses, etc."—there is no "if" in the original.

Page 421. "To pursue nor to execute a plan"—"ni de suivre, ni d'etendre un tel projet," i.e., "neither to pursue nor to understand such a plan." "Two thousand miles"—"deux milles lieues," i.e., "two thousand leagues."

years, spent in the same spirit and unwearied exertion, will be requisite to execute it in its whole extent.

But he himself, I believe, would meet with impediments in the execution of his plan. Although General Simcoe is entirely independent of Lord Dorchester in all civil concerns, yet he is not so in regard to the military department, of which the quartering of the troops forms a part. He told me himself, that, in this respect, he feared to meet with opposition; and I incline to think, that on this subject he did not express all he knows. Unless the troops be stationed in such posts, as to cover and defend the projected capital, and the various settlements which he has in contemplation; unless they be kept to labour rather than military exercises, and unless those, who can find substitutes, be dismissed from service, his project fails in three very material points, which can hardly be accomplished by any other means.

Lord Dorchester is advanced in years, and, like all aged people, no friend of new ideas. Besides that he is fond of boundless power, the prevailing [**423**] disposition of the inhabitants of Lower Canada may excite in him a wish of drawing more troops into that province; and several hints, thrown out by General Simcoe, incline me to believe, that he thinks his Lordship has some such intention. The Governor may also, perhaps, be too sanguine in some of his expectations, or indulge delusive hopes.

As to the emigration from the United States to Upper Canada, I mean a considerable emigration, it appears not to me altogether so probable as to him. The free grant of lands seems at first sight a much greater inducement, than it actually is. The lands are indeed given away gratis; a certificate of the surveyor, granted by command of the Executive Council, gives the new settlers a right to the usufruct of these lands; but the property thereof is sooner or later transferred, according to the will and pleasure of the Council. To the best of my knowledge, none of these free grants include a transfer of the right of property. If an occupier of this description dies without issue, previously to his having acquired that right, his estate escheats to the King; no collateral friends or relations succeed in the possession of the estate; and, of consequence, the money and labour expended in its improvement and cultivation [**424**] have been spent for the benefit of the Crown. In the United States, a new settler, on purchasing a certain quantity of land, the price of which is to be paid by distant instalments, has a prospect of discharging them by selling again a small portion of his estate, the value of which he has doubled by cultivation; while the Canadian planter has to look for the permanency of his possession merely to the will and pleasure of the Governor; and, if

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Page 423. After "usufruct of these lands," the original has "mais ils n'en reçoivent pas promptement les titres," i.e., "but they do not forthwith receive the title to them." "Transferred" means "transferred to the settlers."

Page 424. "The Canadian planter"—"le colon du Canada," i.e., "the settler in Canada."

he understand his interest, he will not place on him an implicit dependance. Interest and an acquaintance with substantial and respectable settlers may, no doubt, procure him, sooner, the right of property, and thus facilitate a second sale. But favours of this kind are always confined to a part of the estate, and depend on the arbitrary will of the Council. As long, therefore, as there shall exist no law, determining the period and terms of the investiture with these rights; the possessors will remain uneasy and insecure; and consequently the progress of improvement will be greatly retarded. Mines of every description, from gold down to pit-coal, which may be discovered in the lands, thus ceded, as well as all timber, which, in the judgment of the Surveyor-general, is fit for ship-building, are in all these grants reserved in favour [**425**] of the King. All these restrictions cannot but render a good settler very uneasy, and may, in the estimation of many people prone to emigration, far outweigh the advantages of a free grant.

The attachment to the King of Great Britain, which is frequently alleged as a ground for emigration, seems an empty dream. It is common with all Englishmen, who hold here places under government, to boast of this attachment of many inhabitants of the United States of every rank and description. On what grounds, this opinion rests, I know not; but it is certainly not warranted by what I learned in the United States. They there profess so loudly and uniformly principles, which indicate the exact reverse; that these professions ought doubtless to be considered as better pledges of the true sentiments of the Americans, than the assertions of a few Englishmen in place.

The families, who arrive here from the United States, emigrate most of them, it is asserted, from their being subject there to a tax, with which, however trifling it may be, they are yet displeased. If this be really the case, such a disposition cannot in future times prove favourable to Great Britain. We were also told, that General Simcoe, from his eager desire to people Upper Canada, is by no means difficult in regard to the [**426**] qualifications of the new settlers, who present themselves; and that, notwithstanding his aversion to speculations in land, and his personal disinterestedness; frequently a whole township, nay at times two or three together, are assigned to one and the same person.

The Governor is of opinion, that the trade of Upper Canada may be encreased by the commodities of the Genessee district, for which he sees no other outlet, but by the river of St. Lawrence. This opinion, however, seems to have no foundation; when it is considered that Lake Oneida, the Wood-creek and Mohawk-river offer ready means for a water-communication with Lake Ontario and the North River; which is at present interrupted only at three places, where the boats are to be carried; and that the Americans, in every part of the Union, display the utmost zeal, activity, and industry, in every thing which tends to facilitate communication by water. But upon the whole the Governor's mis-

Page 424. "Fit for ship-building"—"propres a la marine du roi," i.e., "fit for the Royal navy."

calculations, originating from national prejudices, are of too little importance to impede the execution of his project; they may perhaps protract its completion, but cannot occasion its failure. The true impediments are those, which I have before mentioned, and the chief obstacle is the Governor's return to England.

[**427**] The present population amounts, as I have already stated, to thirty thousand souls. The principal settlement is that of Détroit; which consists, entirely, of French families, and is mostly situated on a tract of land that, according to treaty, is to be given to America. The English flatter themselves, that the families, who have settled there, will remove from the American to the British side. But, if the conduct of the American government towards these families should be such, as the interest of America dictates; there remains but little probability, that they will leave their long cultivated estates, merely from a desire of living under the English dominion. The other settlements in Upper Canada consist in a very considerable colony, which stretches along the river from Fort Erie to Newark, is not fully occupied, and does not comprise a large extent of ground; in a few plantations on the creeks, which run into Lake Ontario from Newark up to its northern point; in an insignificant beginning of a settlement in York; and lastly in Kingston, extending along the banks of the River St. Lawrence to the boundaries of Lower Canada, which is the most populous of all.

As to the Governor's military plans, his measures of defence only are settled and determined; [**428**] his plans of offensive operation are so undefined and uncertain as not to deserve any mention.

The hatred of the Governor against the United States occasions him, on the slightest occasion, to overleap all the bounds of prudence and decency, which he carefully observes in all other matters. He was a zealous promoter of the American war, in which he took a very active, yet very unfortunate, part. The calamitous issue of the war has still more exasperated his hostility; and it was with the sincerest grief I listened to his boasting of the numerous houses he had fired during that unfortunate conflict, and of his intention to burn a still greater number in case of a rupture. In short, the whole of his intentions on this subject was such as the most violent party-rage alone can inspire. He told us, that, in case of another war with America, by expending vast sums of money, he would force them to expences equally great, which they would not be able to meet, and much less to support for any length of time; in short, wage against them a money-war. Yet he affirms in-

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Page 427. After "thirty thousand souls," the original has "et sans doute elle est très inférieure à cette estimation," i.e., "and doubtless it is much less than that estimate." "Its northern point"—"la tête du lac," i.e., "the head of the lake."

Page 428. In Sir David's copy the word "unfortunate" before "conflict" is scored out—the words in French are "malheureuse guerre."

cessantly, that it is his anxious wish to preserve peace with the United States. This he very justly considers as a powerful means of promoting the prosperity of his new colony. But his hatred against the rebels [**429**] is so violent; and his displeasure, occasioned by the surrender of the forts, is so strong; that the charge, preferred against him by the government of the United States, of his having last year assisted the Indians as much as he could, without making himself openly a party in the dispute, seems not devoid of foundation. By exciting this war, the successful issue of which he considered as certain, he attained the twofold purpose of satisfying at once his ambition and his revenge. He does not himself deny, that he had adopted the necessary measures for conducting to the district of Genessee all the Indians, who were at his disposal, and who, by his account, amounted to five thousand men—measures which would naturally have been attended with the firing of all the habitations, and the slaughter of all the inhabitants. A war, thus barbarous and destructive, would have been waged by England at the end of the eighteenth century; and the founder of a colony, in every other respect a man of generous and noble feelings, would have projected and prepared it. I should not have credited these projects, had I heard them stated by any individual but the Governor himself; or should I have ventured to introduce them here, but that, within my knowledge, he has repeatedly communicated them to several other persons.

[**430**] But for his inveterate hatred against the United States, which he too loudly professes, and which carries him too far, General Simcoe appears in the most advantageous light. He is just, active, enlightened, brave, frank, and possesses the confidence of the country, of the troops, and of all those who join him in the administration of public affairs. To these he attends with the closest application; he preserves all the old friends of the King, and neglects no means to procure him new ones. He unites, in my judgment, all the qualities which his station requires, to maintain the important possession of Canada, if it be possible that England can long retain it.

In his private life, Governor Simcoe is simple, plain, and obliging. He inhabits a small miserable wooden house, which formerly was occupied by the commissaries, who resided here on account of the navigation of the lake. His guard consists of four soldiers, who every morning come from the fort, and return thither in the evening. He lives in a noble and hospitable manner, without pride; his mind is enlightened; his character mild and obliging; he discourses with much good sense on all subjects, but his favorite topics are his projects and war, which seem to be the objects of his leading passions. He is ac-

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Page 429. "Within my knowledge" is an interpolation of the translator.

Page 430. "Which carries him too far"—"qu'il porte extrêmement loin," i.e., "which he carries very far." "Commissaires, who resided here on account of the navigation of the lake"—"Commissaires à la navigation du lac," i.e., "Commissioners for the navigation of the lake."

quainted [**431**] with the military history of all countries; no hillock catches his eye without exciting in his mind the idea of a fort, which might be constructed on the spot; and with the construction of this fort he associates the plan of operations for a campaign, especially of that which is to lead him to Philadelphia. On hearing his professions of an earnest desire of peace, you cannot but suppose, either that his reason must hold an absolute sway over his passion, or that he deceives himself.

Mrs. SIMCOE is a lady of thirty-six years of age. She is bashful, and speaks little; but she is a woman of sense, handsome and amiable, and fulfils all the duties of the mother and wife with the most scrupulous exactness. The performance of the latter she carries so far as to act the part of a private secretary to her husband. Her talents for drawing, the practice of which she confines to maps and plans, enable her to be extremely useful to the Governor.

Upper Canada pays no taxes, except a duty on wine, amounting to four-pence per gallon on Madeira, and two-pence on other sorts of wine, and another of thirty-six shillings sterling a year for a tavern-licence, which, during the session of 1793, was encreased by twenty shillings Canada currency [**432**] [four dollars]*. The sum total of the public revenue amounts to nine hundred pounds sterling, out of which are paid the salaries of the Speaker of the House of Representatives and of the secretaries; the remainder is destined to meet the expence which local circumstances may require for the service and maintenance of society.

The justices of the peace determine in the quarter-sessions, as they do in England, the amount of the country-rates for the construction of public buildings, for the repair of the roads, and the maintenance of the army. (The last item is not yet known in Canada.) These rates are raised by means of a capitation or poll-tax, assessed in proportion to the probable amount of the property of the whole who are in the district, liable to contribute; the largest assessment on any individual exceeds not four dollars.

Page 431. "Which she confines to maps and plans"—"qu'elle applique au tracé des cartes," i.e., "which she applies to, etc." "No taxes" is followed by "à l'Angleterre," i.e., "to England."

*The value of money in Canada should, according to law, be equal to that which it bears in Halifax, and consequently a dollar be worth five shillings. This standard is strictly adhered to in all government accounts, but not so scrupulously observed in the course of private business. The currency, which circulates in New York, passes also, especially in that part of Canada which borders on New York.—*Author.*

Page 432. "Of society"—"de l'assemblée," i.e., "of the Assembly." "The maintenance of the army"—"le soulagement des pauvres," i.e., "the care of the poor."

[Note.*—"The currency which circulates in New York, etc."—"La division de la monnaie usitée dans l'État de New Yorck prevaut surtout dans les parties du Canada qui avoisinent cet État," i.e., "The division of money as used in New York State prevails especially in those parts of Canada adjoining that State."]

On the same principle is raised the pay of the members of the assembly, who, on their return [**433**] at the end of the session, deliver to the justice of the peace of their district a certificate of the speaker, proving the number of days they have been present, and receive two dollars per day out of the money raised for that purpose, including the days they have been upon their journey.

The quarter-sessions are held in every district; and the division into districts is connected with the administration of justice. The justices of the High Court of Judicature for civil and criminal causes, who are three in number, including the chief justice, hold four sessions annually in the town in which the Governor resides. They also go on circuits in the different districts of the province once a year: judges for the different districts sit at shorter intervals to settle matters of little importance, and the justices of the peace exercise the same jurisdiction as in England.

A tribunal, composed of the Governor and two members of the Executive Council, form the Court of Appeal in such causes as have been decided by the High Court of Judicature. The Governor forms also, with the concurrence of an assistant, the choice of whom depends entirely on his option, a Court of Chancery for the decision of causes, concerning testaments, intestate heirs, orphans, &c.

Respecting the frequency and punishments of [**434**] crimes, Mr. WHITE, Attorney-general of the province, informed me, that there is no district, in which one or two persons have not already been tried for murder; that they were all acquitted by the jury, though the evidence was strongly against them; that, from want of prisons, which are not yet built, petty offences, which in England would be punished with imprisonment, are here mulcted, but that the fines are seldom paid for want of means of execution; and that the major part of law-suits have for their object the recovery of debts; but sometimes originate also from quarrels and assaults; drunkenness being a very common vice in this country.

The province of Upper Canada is divided into four districts of Détroit, Niagara, Kingston, and St. John's. The justices of the peace are selected from among those persons, who are best qualified for such an office; but, in a country so recently settled men worthy of this trust cannot be numerous.

The division of Upper Canada into counties is purely military, and relates merely to the enlisting, completing and assembling of the militia. The counties are about twelve in number. Their names, with which I am unacquainted, are not of sufficient importance to deserve

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Page 433. "Proving"—"qui constate," i.e., "certifying."

"Intestate heirs" (these words Sir David underlines) "intestats," i.e., "intestates."

Page 434. After "Strongly against them" the French has "que ces meurtres avaient pour causes rancune invétérée pour argent dû et ivrognerie," i.e., "that the causes of these murders were ill-will of old standing on account of debts, and drunkenness." "St. John's"—"Saint-John."

to be here mentioned. The militia of each county are assembled [**435**] and commanded by a lieutenant and second lieutenant; they must be divided into regiments and companies. They assemble once a year in each county, and are inspected by the captains of the different companies at least twice a year. Every male inhabitant is considered as a militia-man from the age of sixteen to fifty. He is fined four dollars if he do not enlist at the proper time; and officers, both commissioned and non-commissioned, who do not join their regiments at the time the militia are assembled, pay a fine; the former of eight dollars, and the latter of two. An officer, who, in case of an attack or insurrection, should not repair to his assigned post, would be punished with a pecuniary penalty of fifty pounds sterling, and a petty officer with a fine of twenty pounds sterling. A militia-man, who sells either the whole or part of his arms, ammunition, or accoutrements, is fined five pounds sterling; and, in default of payment, imprisoned for two months. The Quakers, Baptists, and Dunkers pay, in time of peace, twenty shillings a year; and, during a war or insurrection, five pounds sterling, for their exemption from military service. Out of these fines and ransoms the adjutant-general of the militia receives his pay, and the remainder is at the Governor's disposal.

This is nearly the substance of [**436**] the first act of the legislative body of Upper Canada, passed in 1793. In the following year, 1794, an additional act passed relative to the militia, the chief regulations of which tended to improve and define more accurately the internal form of the regiments, battalions, and companies, and to render the assembling of detachments more easy and expeditious. The act determines that, in time of war, the obligation to carry arms in defence of the country shall not cease before the age of fifty; and that, of consequence, Quakers and others, who enjoy an exemption from military service, shall pay for their immunity up to that age. It also obliges the militia to serve on board of ships and vessels, to act as cavalry, and to extend their service beyond the province, on condition however, that the same men be not bound to serve more than six months successively.

The exemptions from military service are confined to the officers of justice, and other public functionaries, whose number is very small. The whole militia is estimated at nine thousand men, for a tract of country of considerable extent, in which, however, the communication and assembling of the troops are much facilitated on the lakes.

All the expences of the civil and military administration of Upper and Lower Canada are defrayed [**437**] by England. The sum total, including the political expences, or the money paid to the Indians, though this forms an item of the military expenditure, amounts for

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Page 435. "Second lieutenant"—"député-lieutenant." After "once a year in each county" the translator omits "le premier juin," i.e., "the 1st of June." "Baptist." "Memnonistes" (Mennonistes), i.e., "Mennonites."

Upper Canada to one hundred thousand pounds sterling. Nearly two-thirds of this sum, or sixty thousand pounds, are paid to the Indians; including the pay of the principal agents, under agents, interpreters, &c. This pay deducted, all the other charges, occasioned by the Indians, consist in presents, tomahawks, muskets, powder and ball, knives, blankets, rings, buckles, hats, looking-glasses, and, above all, in rum. The agents are charged with the distribution of these articles, which by some are distributed every year, by others at various times, according to circumstances. It is by these means the Indians are supposed to be gained over. Such of their chieftains, as are believed to possess considerable influence, obtain a larger share of presents; by which, and especially by a profuse distribution of rum, their friendship is gained and preserved. The Americans are depicted to them as their inveterate enemies; they are made to swear, that they will burn and scalp these foes at the first signal. It was in this manner the Governor imagined last year, from the reports he had received, that he should be able to dispose of fifty thousand men, who had all taken an oath, [**438**] not to leave a scalp on the skull of any American they should fall in with. A relation of these atrocities has all the appearance of an exaggerated account of some nation of cannibals, and yet it is literally true*. The English assert, that the Americans, on their part, proceed in exactly the same manner.

It must be confessed that the colonists, by their mean and barbarous policy, teach the Indians to despise them. But we may indulge a hope, that the time is not far distant, when the latter shall possess sufficient sense, to take the presents of England and the money of the United States, and to laugh at both these great nations; scorning to be any longer the tools of their ambition and revenge.

We have here been told that England's annual expenditure for Upper and Lower Canada amounts to four or five hundred thousand pounds sterling; whether the pensions and donations which England bestows on some inhabitants of the United States, be compromised in this estimate I know not: but this I know, from a very respectable

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Page 437. "Fifty thousand"—"cinq milles," i.e., "five thousand."

*With all candid readers it will undoubtedly be a matter of regret, that the author should have preferred a charge of such a serious and heinous complexion, without giving himself the least trouble to substantiate its truth.—*Translator.*

Page 438. "The colonists"—"les Blancs," i.e., "the whites." "The tools of their ambition and revenge." "sans servir plus long-tems d'instruments à leur querelle," i.e., "tools in their quarrel." Before "we have here been told, etc.," the translator leaves out a whole paragraph which I translate, "Next to the expense of the Indians, the most considerable in Upper Canada is that of the surveyors—I do not know the precise total; it varies from year to year, according to the work they are given to do The military expenditure should be made under the direction of Lord Dorchester, independently of Governor Simcoe. Lord Dorchester also claims the same right in respect of certain civil expenditures, amongst others those relating to the navigation of the lakes, which are very considerable: but Governor Simcoe does not as yet agree to this."

[**439**] source, that they amount to a pretty large sum. Is it this circumstance, to which Messrs. Hammond and Simcoe allude, when they speak of the numerous friends of the King of Great Britain in the United States?

I have not yet mentioned, that the Governor is also President of an Executive Council, composed of five members. In regard to the bills, which have passed both houses, his assent or dissent is determined by the majority of votes. But, as he appoints his council, and has also the power of dissolving it, we may easily conceive, that it consists of members entirely dependant on him. The major part hold seats in the Legislative Council.

An office, which was exclusively charged with preparing for the discussion and decision of the council such matters as concern grants of land, has lately been abolished. The Executive Council has reserved to itself the introductory disquisition, as well as the definitive determination, of all business of this description. The number of those, who apply for lands, is uncommonly great. The claims of the petitioners are generally grounded on their attachment to the British Monarch, and their disgust or hatred against the government of the United States. But, under allegations of this kind, frequently lurks a spirit of speculation. [**440**.] Notwithstanding the solicitude said to be displayed by the council to discover the truth, many grants of land are made on no other grounds than favour. By the letter of the law, which, however, is often eluded, one individual cannot obtain more than one thousand two hundred acres. Yet, as the grants contain no clause fixing the period within which the ground is to be cleared, speculations frequently occur, and not the least security is obtained, that the land will be a moment sooner inhabited for being thus bestowed.

I have already observed, that officers, who served in the American war, have a right to a share in these lands, which amounts, for a lieutenant to twelve hundred acres, and for a colonel to five thousand. But officers, who never acted in the American war, nor ever held a colonel's commission, have obtained shares as great as the largest allotted to those who have. These lands, though most favourably situated, are not yet cleared; nor is there the least appearance of their being speedily cultivated.

Everything is excessively dear at Newark. The shops are few, and the shopkeepers, combining against the public, fix what price they choose upon their goods. The high duty laid by England upon all the commodities exported from her [**441**] islands proves a powerful encouragement to a contraband trade with the United States, where, in many articles, the difference of price amounts to two-thirds. The government of Canada is very vigilant to prevent this contraband trade;

Page 439. After the question ending "in the United States," the French has "C'est une grande bassesse que d'entretenir de tels amis. C'est une grande infamie que d'en jouer le rôle," i.e., "It is a disgrace to have such friends—infamous to play such a part."

but a certain prospect of gain excites to exertion, which will frequently succeed in eluding the law, as well as the vigilance of the executive power. The shopkeepers know perfectly well how to favour this contraband trade, the only means for destroying which would be to lower the duties, and, of consequence, the price of the commodities. The Governor has it in contemplation, to encourage such manufactures as produce these articles, which are *run* in large quantities into this province from the United States, such as hats. But all his exertions to this effect will fail in regard to sugar, coffee, tea; in short, with respect to all commodities, which are directly imported from the United States, without being there subjected to as high a duty as in Canada.

During our long residence at Naryhall, all the inhabitants of an Indian village, of the Tuscarora nation, came to congratulate the Governor on his late arrival at Naryhall. All these visits and congratulatory compliments have no other object but to obtain some drink, money, and presents. These [**442**] Indians generally arrive in the morning, in vessels, from the opposite banks of the river, which they inhabit. They were decked out with uncommon care, covered with rags of every description, and adorned with horse-hair, and feathers of all possible species of birds. In their ears and noses they wore rings of the most varied forms and colours. Some were dressed in European clothes, others wore laced hats, and some were naked, excepting the double apron, and painted from head to foot. It is in the manner of painting themselves, that their genius is especially displayed. In general they prefer the harshest colours, paint one leg white, and the other black or green, the body brown or yellow, the face full of red or black spots, and their eyes different colours. In a word, they unite in their decorations the utmost absurdity and harshness. They are, every one of them, painted in a different style, and furnished with a small looking-glass, which they every moment consult with as much attention as the most finished coquette. They comb themselves again and again, and touch up the colours, which may have faded from perspiration or exercise. Many of them wear silver bracelets and chains round their necks and arms. Some have a white shirt with long sleeves over their clothes, and this forms their [**443**] most elegant garment; the major part wear as many silver buckles as they can afford. In short, their appearance calls to recollection the whimsical masks, which throng the streets of Paris during the carnival. It must, however, be confessed, that their absurd finery, in a great measure, consists of

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Page 441. "The shopkeepers know perfectly well how to favour this contraband trade"—"les marchands et les surveillans eux-mêmes sont habiles à favoriser cette contrebande," i.e., "the shopkeepers and the customs inspectors themselves are skilful in advancing this contraband trade."

"Naryhall"; this form is constantly used by the translator. Smith sometimes changes it to "Navyhall." The French form is almost always "Nawy-Hall," but the word is "Navyhall" where it occurs for the first time (p. 400 of this translation).

things, which they make themselves, of horses', buffaloes', or other hair, or of the bristles of the hedge-hog. They twist ropes of the bark of trees, and make laces of a species of herbs. Many of these articles, which they use to adorn their dress, their tobacco-bags, their scalping-knives, garters, and mockinsons, (a sort of shoes) are made by the women, with a regularity, a skill, nay, I may say, with a taste, seldom to be found in Europe. Their chief excellency consists in the great variety and richness of the colours, which they generally extract from leaves, and from the roots of certain herbs; but they possess also the art of extracting them from all dyed linens and silks, of which they can obtain a piece. They boil these rags in the juice of a plant, with the species and name of which I am unacquainted, and thus obtain a very durable colour for dying hair or bark.

On their arrival this morning the Indian visitors were about eighty in number. The Governor, being particularly engaged, deferred receiving [**444**] their visit until the afternoon; at which time only thirty made their appearance, the rest being all drunk and unable to move. The visit was received on a large plot of grass, without the smallest compliment on either part. The Governor was present, but kept at some distance. The Indians danced and played among themselves. Some of their dances are very expressive, and even graceful. A mournful and monotonous ditty, sung by one, and accompanied with a small drum, six inches high, and three in diameter, forms all their music, except that frequently a stick is added, with which a child beats the time. They dance around the music, which they frequently interrupt by loud shrieks. The hunting and war dances are the most expressive, especially the latter. It represents the surprise of an enemy, who is killed and scalped, and is performed by one person. The rest are hopping about, like monkeys, in a semi-circular figure, and watch, with the utmost attention, every movement of the dancer. The moment when the enemy is supposed to have breathed his last, a strong expression of joy brightens every face; the dancer gives a horrid howl, resumes his pantomime, and is rewarded by universal shouts of applause. When he has thus finished his dance, another enters the stage, who is, in his turn, relieved by others; and in [**445**] this way the dance is continued, until they become tired of it. When the dance was over, they played at ball; a game in which they displayed their agility to the greatest advantage. Every one had a racket, the handle of which was three or four feet in length, and bent at the end, so that the racket had the form of a bow. The packthread is made of bark; they grasp the racket with both hands,

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Page 443. "mockinsons"—"mockisson."

Page 444. "The rest are hopping about like monkeys"—"les autres accroupis, le talon sous leur derrière comme les singes sont rangés en demi cercle," i.e., "the others crouching on their heels like monkeys are ranged in a semi-circle." "A horrid howl"—"cris percans et terrible," i.e., "cries piercing and terrible" (warwhoop).

Page 445. "pack thread"—"les cordes de cette raquette," i.e., "the cords of this racquet" (crosse).

and run after the ball, wherever they see it, with the view of catching it, one before another. This ball is frequently thrown to a considerable distance, in which case they run after it all together, to catch it, either in the air, or on the ground. No bush, no ditches, no barriers check their ardour. They clear every thing, leap over every thing, and display, in this game, a versatility, swiftness, and dexterity, which are truly striking. During these games the agent came up to the general, with one of the chieftains, and told him, that the Tuscarora nation wished to learn whether they might assist at a meeting, to be held in Onondago by the Oneida Indians, for the purpose of selling a part of the Oneida reservation, which the State of New York had manifested a disposition to purchase*. The Governor's answer was conceived in [**446**] terms extremely vague; the agent translated this answer as he pleased, and in reply assured the Governor, in the name of the Indians, that they would not go to Onondago, from the hope that this would prove more agreeable to the British Monarch. Whether this political farce was acted only by the agent, or whether this chieftain took a part, I know not; but this I know, that this chieftain, a moment before, begged of me two shillings, for which he would have promised me, had I desired it, to visit or not to visit all the meetings throughout the universe. Without entering further on this subject, I shall merely observe, that the whole policy of England, relative to the Indians, is in the hands of the agents, who alone understand their language, and have the sole management of the presents. It rests entirely with these agents to persuade all or any of these nations to engage in war, and to excite their enmity either against the United States or against each other. The Governor is altogether incapable of judging of their disobedience and opposition to the orders of his cabinet but by the results. The same is undoubtedly the case as to the American States.

[**447**] The English agent, here referred to, is Colonel BUTLER, celebrated for his * * * * * * * * *
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*The Oneida Nation receives an annuity from the State of New York of three thousand five hundred and fifty-two dollars for lands purchased of them in 1795, and an annuity of about six hundred and twenty-eight dollars from the United States.—*Translator.*

Page 445. "one before another"—"avant les autres," i.e., "before the others" (can catch it). "Versatility" — "souplesse" — "suppleness." "Oneida"—"Oneyda."

Page 447. The starred passage is in the original "incendies, ses pillages et ses meurtres dans le guerre d'Amérique"—"burnings, pillage and murders in the American war." "Son prétendu loyalisme qu'il a su se payer de brevets et de traitemens, lui a fait commettre plus de barbaries, plus d'infamies contra sa pais qu'à qui que ce soit: Il conduisait les Indiens, leur indiquait les fermes, les maisons à brûler, les victimes à scarpeler, les enfans à déchirer," i.e., "his pretended patriotism which he has turned to good account in honors and rank has caused him to commit more barbarities, more infamies, against his country than any one else. He led the Indians, showed them the homesteads, the houses to burn, the victims to scalp, the children to mutilate."

He is a native of America of the neighbourhood of Wilkesbarre. His * * * * * * * * *. England has rewarded his loyalty with five thousand acres of land for himself; the same quantity for his children; a pension of two or three hundred pounds sterling; an agency, worth five hundred pounds sterling a year; and the privilege of taking from the store-houses, which contain the presents, whatever he chooses. He is treated with every mark of respect by the Governor.

The Tuscarora Nation is an Indian tribe, the men of which share the toils of their women in a greater degree than any other. The Governor mentioned a project, he has conceived, of giving a half civilization to all the Indian nations in the interest of England. Whether or no civilization be likely to promote the happiness of the Indians, is a question, a full discussion of which might, perhaps, exceed my powers, or at least seem irrelevant. But, were I obliged to decide it at once, I should answer in the negative, as long as they are not hemmed in too closely by the colonists, possess a sufficient tract of ground for hunting, and have plenty of game. But, I repeat it once [**448**] more, to do justice to this question would require a more profound discussion, than I can enter upon in this place. Besides it can hardly be satisfactorily decided, since the state of savage nations, left entirely to their primitive life, is widely different from the condition of those, who reside in the vicinity of these colonists, and hold intercourse with them. If, on mature deliberation, we were obliged to allow, that the creation of wants, the necessity of providing for them, the exercise of our mutual powers, the unfolding of our faculties, and the refinement of our feelings, prove more frequently sources of misfortune than of happiness; every degree of civilization, pregnant with all these, should carefully be kept, for their own sake, from all savage tribes. But the same conclusion will not hold good in regard to a barbarous people, who, from their intercourse with civilized nations, possess already some degree of civility; but a civility which acquaints them with vices only, and consequently introduces them to sources of misfortune, and who, therefore, from a higher degree of culture, may derive an alleviation of their fate and an increase of happiness. As to the advantages likely to accrue to the civilized the world from the civilization of the savages, the question seems likely to demand a decision in the affirmative.

[**449**] However this may be, the Governor, in conceiving this project, had not only the happiness of the Indians in view, but also his own advantage. He intends to have them civilized by priests, and would give the preference to missionaries of the Roman Catholic persuasion. The policy of General S—— inclines him to encourage a religion, the ministers of which are interested in a connection with

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Page 448. "mutual" is a misprint for "mental" (la pensée). "Civility"—"civilization."

Page 449. "General S——" means "General Simcoe."

the authority of thrones, and who, therefore, never lose sight of the principle, to preserve and propagate arbitrary power.

I learn here, that rum enervates the Indians, shortens their lives, renders their marriages daily more barren, and, when fruitful, productive only of poor unhealthy children; and that, from the use of this poison, which now cannot either be wrested from them, or rendered harmless in its consequences, the different tribes are daily decreasing in number.

Eighty miles from Naryhall, on the Miami, or Great River, is the settlement of Colonel Brant, with a view of which I should have been much pleased; but he is not there at present, and they assure me that, in his absence, I should see nothing but what I have already seen in those I have hitherto visited.

Colonel Brant is an Indian by birth. In the American war he fought under the English banner, [**450**] and he has since been in England, where he was most graciously received by the King, and met with a kind reception from all classes of people. His manners are semi-European. He is attended by two negroes; has established himself in the English way; has a garden and a farm; dresses after the European fashion; and nevertheless possesses much influence over the Indians. He assists, at present, at the Miami-treaty*, which the United States are concluding with the western Indians. He is also much respected by the Americans, and, in general, bears so excellent a character, that I sincerely regret I could not see and become acquainted with him.

The Indians, who inhabit the village, which we passed on leaving Canawaga, paid also a visit to the Governor during the time we stayed with him. The weather being too hot for receiving the visit on the grass, he ordered them to be ushered into a room, where he was attended by some officers of the garrison. The chiefs of the [**451**] Indians said a few words, which the agent interpreted to the Governor, as containing an assurance, that they would employ their tomahawks against anyone he should point out, and expressions of regret, that they could not use them last year against the Americans. The Governor thanked them for these sentiments, endeavoured to confirm them in this friendly disposition, and told them, that the King of Great Britain wished for peace, whatever lies the *maize-thief* [Mr.

Page 449. "the Miami or Great River"—la grande rivière," i.e., "the Grand River."

*The treaty, alluded to by the author, is the Greenville treaty, concluded on the third of August, 1795, at Greenville, a fort and settlement on the south side of a north-western branch of the great Miami, between the Major-general A. Wayne and the chiefs of the following tribes of Indians, viz.: the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Ottawas, Chippawas, Putawatimes, Miamis, Eel-river, Weeas, Kickapoos, Pian Kashaws, and Kaskaskias.—*Translator.* (Smith adds in ink "and Chickasaws.")

Page 450. "dresses after the European fashion"—the French says "presqu' entièrement," i.e., "almost completely." "Canawaga"—"Cananwaga."

P——, Commissioner of the United States] might have imposed on them last year. They answered, that the Governor was perfectly right, and that P—— was a liar, drank as much as they pleased, and departed. The conference was held at eight o'clock in the morning, and before nine o'clock half of them were intoxicated. The Governor is very anxious to oblige and please the Indians; his only son, a child, four years old, is dressed as an Indian, and called Tioga, which name has been given him by the Mohawks. This harmless farce may be of use in the intercourse with the Indians.

The Niagara river and lake abound with a great variety of fishes. We assisted at a fishing, intended to supply the soldiers with fish; the net was drawn thrice. One end of the net was held by men, who remained on shore, while the remainder [**452**] was carried into the stream by means of a boat, which, after the net had been entirely expanded, conveyed the other end back to the shore. Both ends are joined on the spot, whence the net is drawn. It is only four feet deep, but one hundred feet in length. Upwards of five hundred fish were caught, among which were about twenty-eight or thirty sturgeons, small pikes, whitings, rock-fish, sun-fish, herrings, a sort of carp, which in point of shape resemble those of Europe, but differ much in flavour, and in the form of their heads, salmon, trouts; in short, all the fish was of a tolerable size. Middle-sized fish are easily caught by anglers on the banks both of the river and the lake; they frequently catch more than their families can consume in several days.

The town of Newark stands on the other side of the river, directly opposite the fort. About a hundred houses, mostly very fine structures, have already been erected, but the progress of building will probably be checked, by the intended removal of the seat of government. The majority of the inhabitants, especially the richest of them, share in the administration; and consequently will remove, to whatever place the government may be transferred. In point of size and elegance, the house of Colonel SMITH, [**453**] lieutenant-colonel in the fifth regiment, is much distinguished from the rest. It consists of joiner's work, but is constructed, embellished, and painted in the best style: the yard, garden, and court are surrounded with railings, made and painted as elegantly, as they could be in England. His large garden has the appearance of a French kitchen-garden, kept in good order. In a country, where it is a hard matter to procure labourers, and where they are paid at the rate of one dollar per day, he finds, in his regiment, as many as he chooses, for ninepence sterling a day, because

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Page 451. "the *maize-thief* [Mr. P— etc.]"—"l'oiseau noir (Mr. Pickering, etc.)," i.e., "the Black-bird (Mr. Pickering, etc.)." "Mohawks"—Mohaucks."

Page 452. "Small pikes"—"pickerells," i.e., "pickerel." "Whitings"—"*Whitefish*." "Sun-fish"—"Sem fish" (an obvious misprint). In the list of fish, the translator omits "perches."

Page 453. After "the fifth regiment" the translator omits "en garrison à Niagara," i.e., "in garrison at Niagara."

the men otherwise do not easily obtain leave to go to work. It is in this manner he is now clearing five thousand acres, which have been granted him, and has the use of thirty more, which belong to the King, are situate in front of the town, and which the Governor has assigned him, until he shall be necessitated to demand them again.

The scarcity of men servants is here still greater than in the United States. They, who are brought hither from England, either demand lands, or emigrate into the United States. A very wise act of the Assembly declares all negroes to be free, as soon as they arrive in Canada. This description of men, who are more or less frequent in the United States, cannot here supply the want of white servants. All persons belonging [**454**] to the army employ soldiers in their stead. By the English regulations, every officer is allowed one soldier, to whom he pays one shilling a week; and this privilege is extended, in proportion as the officers have need of a greater number of people. The Governor, who is also colonel of a regiment of Queen's Rangers, stationed in the province, is attended in his house, and at dinner, merely by privates of this regiment, who also take care of his horses. He has not been able to keep one of the men servants, he brought with him from England.

The regiments quartered in the vicinity of the United States, it is asserted, lose much by desertion. Seeing every where around them lands, either given away or sold at a very low rate, and being surrounded by people, who within a twelvemonth have risen from poverty to prosperity, and are now married and proprietors, they cannot endure the idea of a servitude, which is to end only with their existence. The *ennui* naturally arising from the dull and secluded manner of living in garrisons, where they find neither work nor amusement, and the slight attention shown them by most of the colonels, darken still more, in their view, the dismal picture of their situation. They emigrate accordingly into the United States, where they are sure to find a settlement, which if [**455**] they choose to work, cannot fail to make them rich and independent. To hold out to them the same hopes in the English colony of Canada, would be the only means of rendering less dangerous the temptation offered by the United States. It is with this view, that Governor Simcoe very wisely formed the project of dismissing every soldier, who should find an able substitute in his room, and to give him one hundred acres of land; but it is said, that this project appears, in Lord Dorchester's judgment, to savour too much of the new principles, to obtain his consent. If it were actually refused, such an unreasonable denial would more forcibly provoke the discontented of the troops, from their being already acquainted with the measure.

During our residence at Naryhall, the session of the Legislature of Upper Canada was opened. The Governor had deferred it till that

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Page 453. "assigned"—"prêtés," i.e., "lent." "They who, etc."—"Presque tous, etc.," i.e., "Almost all who, etc."

time, on account of the expected arrival of a chief-justice, who was to come from England; and from a hope, that he should be able to acquaint the members with the particulars of the treaty with the United States. But the harvest has now begun, which in a higher degree than elsewhere engages, in Canada, the public attention, far beyond what state-affairs can do. Two members of the Legislative Council were present instead [**456**] of seven; no Chief-justice appeared who was to act as Speaker; instead of sixteen members of the assembly five only attended, and this was the whole number, which could be collected at this time. The law requires a greater number of members for each house to discuss and determine upon any business*, but within two days a year will have expired since the last session. The Governor has therefore thought it right, to open the session, reserving, however, to either house the right of proroguing the sittings from one day to another, in expectation, that the ships from Détroit and Kingston will either bring the members, who are yet wanting, or certain intelligence of their not being able to attend.

The whole retinue of the Governor consisted in a guard of fifty men of the garrison of the fort. Dressed in silk, he entered the hall with his hat on his head, attended by his adjutant and two secretaries. The two members of the Legislative Council gave, by their Speaker, notice of it to the Assembly. Five members of the latter [**457**] having appeared at the bar, the Governor delivered a speech modelled after that of the King, on the political affairs of Europe, on the treaty concluded with the United States, which he mentioned in expressions very favourable to the Union, and on the peculiar concerns of Canada. Where no taxes are to be settled, no accounts to be audited and examined, and no military regulations to be adjusted, public business cannot occupy much time. But, if even all these points were to be discussed, the business would still be trifling, from want of an opposition; which seems to be precluded by the manner, in which the two Houses for Upper Canada are framed. The constitution of this province is well adapted to the present state of the country. The members of both Houses, who bear a share in the administration, are all of them as useful, as can be desired, at this period. The influence of the Governor is not useless. And the other necessary arrangements, especially such as may ensure liberty and good order, will, no doubt, be made in the process of time.

Fort Niagara stands, as has been already observed, on the right bank of the river, on a point, opposite to that of Mississogas, on which Newark is built. It was originally constructed by Mr. de [**458**] la TONQUIERE, three miles nearer to the falls; but was, some years afterwards, transferred to the spot, where it now stands, and where Mr.

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*By the Quebec Act, passed in 1791, it is enacted, that the Legislative Council is to consist of not fewer than seven members for Upper Canada, and the Assembly of not less than sixteen members, who are to be called together at least once in every year.—*Translator.*

Page 458. "Tonquiere"—"Jonquière."

de DENONVILLE threw up an entrenchment. This fort, as well as those of Oswego, Détroit, Miami, and Michillimakkinak, are to be surrendered to the Americans*. Fort Niagara is said to be the strongest of these places, having been strengthened with some new works, in the course of last year; especially covered batteries, designed for its protection on the side of the lake and the river. All the breast-works, slopes, etc., are lined with timber. On the land-side, it has a curtain, flanked by two bastions, in each of which a block-house has been constructed, mounted with cannon. Although this fort, in common with all such small fortified places, cannot long withstand a regular attack; yet the besiegers cannot take it without a considerable loss. All the buildings, within the precincts of the fort, are of stone, and were built by the French.

With very obliging politeness, the Governor conducted us into the fort, which he is very loath to visit; since he is sure, he shall be obliged to deliver it up to the Americans. He [**459**] carried us through every part of it, indeed more of it than we wished to see. Thirty artillery-men and eight companies of the fifth regiment, form the garrison of the fort. Two days after this visit, we dined in the fort, at Major SEWARD'S, an officer of elegant, polite, and amiable manners, who seems to be much respected by the gentlemen of his profession, He and Mr. PILKINSON, an officer of the corps of engineers, are the military gentlemen we have most frequently seen during our residence in this place, and whom the Governor most distinguishes from the rest. In England, as in France, the officers of the engineers and artillery are in general the most accomplished among the gentlemen of the army; and their society is consequently preferred. The officers of the fifth regiment, whom we have seen, were well-bred, polite, and excellent companions.

The communication of the fort with Newark is in winter intercepted for two or three mouths, by masses of floating ice, carried along by the stream. At times it is free for a few hours only. The Indians attempt, now and then, to cross the river, by jumping from one piece of ice to another. But the number of those, who venture upon this dangerous experiment, is never great.

Some trifling excursions, we made to the environs [**460**] of the city; and especially a tour of four days, with the Governor, along the banks of the lake; afforded us an opportunity of seeing the interior country. The chief purpose of this journey was, to reach the extremity

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*All these forts were actually delivered up to the Americans in August, 1796, pursuant to the treaty of 1794.—*Translator.*

Page 458. "Michillimakkinak"—"Machilimackinac."

Page 459. After "garrison of the fort" read "les canons et munitions pour l'armée, que pout lever le Haut-Canada," i.e., "the cannon and munitions for the army which can be raised in Upper Canada." "Pilkinson" (which Smith changes to Pilkington) "Pilckinson."

Page 460. "the extremity of the lake"—"à la tête du lac," i.e., "the head of the lake."

of the lake. A boat, made of the bark of trees, and designed for the Governor's excursions between Détroit and Kingston, contained the whole company; which consisted of the Governor, Major Seward, Mr. Pilkinson, us three (Mr. de Blacons, having left us two days after our arrival in Naryhall), and Mr. RICHARD, a young Englishman, who arrived here by the way of the North River, and whom we had already seen in Philadelphia. Twelve *chasseurs* of the Governor's regiment rowed the boat, which was followed by another vessel, carrying tents and provision. We halted at noon to eat our dinner, and in the evening to pitch our tents and sup. In the morning, we walked, then breakfasted, and set out to pursue our journey, which was rendered rather unpleasant by a small fall of rain.

Fortymile-creek was one of the chief objects of our tour. This stream, which intersects in a straight line the range of mountains, extending from Queen's Town, flows, with a gentle fall, into the plain; and affords some wild, awful, yet very pleasing prospects among the mountains. [**461**] Before it empties itself into the lake, it turns a grist mill, and two saw-mills, which belong to a Mr. GREEN, a loyalist of Jersey, who, six or seven years ago, settled in this part of Upper Canada.

This Mr. Green was the constant companion of the Governor on this little journey; he is apparently a worthy man, and in point of knowledge far superior to the common cast of settlers in this neighbourhood. His estate consists of three hundred acres, about forty of which are cleared of wood. He paid one hundred and twenty-five dollars for forty acres, through which the creek flows, that turns his mill, on account of the greater value, they bear for this reason; the common price being only five shillings per acre. Land newly cleared yields here, the first year, twenty bushels of corn. The soil is good, though not of the most excellent quality. They plough the land, after it has produced three or four crops, but not very deep, and never use manure. The price of flour is twenty-two shillings per hundred weight; that of wheat from seven to eight shillings per bushel. The bushel weighs sixty-two pounds upon an average. Labourers are scarce, and are paid at the rate of six shillings a day.

Respecting the feeding of cattle, the winter is [**462**] here reckoned at five months and a half, and near the lakes often at six; on the mountains it is a month shorter. A few habitations are scattered over the district. Wheat is here, as well as throughout all Upper Canada, generally sown; but other sorts of grain are also cultivated.

Page 460. "A boat, made of the bark of trees"—"un canot d'écorce," i.e., "a bark canoe." "Queen's Town"—"Queenstown."

Page 461. "on this little journey"—"pendant le tems qu'il a passé à Forty-mile-creek," i.e., "during the time he spent at Forty Mile Creek." "cleared of wood"—"cleared." After "cleared" the translator omits "Il n'a pas plus de titres que les autres; mais ayant voulu, l'hiver dernier, vendre quelques-uns de ses acres et en acheter d'autres, il a obtenu promptement les titres pour ces deux parties," i.e., "he has like others, no deed, but desiring the previous winter to sell some of his acres and buy others, he at once obtained the deeds for both parcels."

Wheat and rye are sown in September; oats, in May; barley, in June; turnips, in July; and potatoes, in May. The hay harvest falls between the 10th of June and the 10th of July. Rye is generally cut about the beginning of July; and wheat, in the latter days of the same month; potatoes and turnips are dug in October and November. Grass is, in general, mowed but once. Cultivated meadows are sown with timothy-grass. The cattle are fed, in winter, with hay; which is kept either in barns, in Dutch lofts*, or in stacks, after the English manner: the last are very badly made. Until the winter sets in with great severity, the cattle are left to graze in the woods; they tell us, that in all parts of Upper Canada, the snow lies seldom deeper than two feet. The whole of these [**463**] observations apply also to the cultivated ground near Lake Ontario and Lake Erie.

Mr. Green, who has a very numerous family, intends to bring up all his sons to farming, and to build for each of them a mill, either on this or on a neighbouring creek. He grinds the corn for all the military posts in Upper Canada; where General Simcoe has ordered all the flour of a good quality to be purchased, which shall be offered by millers in larger quantities than six bushels.

The road from Fortymile-creek to the extremity of the lake, which we travelled, on horseback, is one of the worst we have hitherto seen in America. But for our finding now and then some trunks of trees in the swampy places, we should not have been able to disengage ourselves from the morass. Along the road, which is fifteen miles in length, the soil is good; but we scarcely saw four plantations on the bank of the lake. At the very extremity of it, and on the most fruitful soil, there are but two settlements.

Burlington Bay borders on Lake Ontario. This bay is five miles in length, and communicates with the lake by a streight sixty yards wide; but this communication is interrupted by sand-banks, which, at the extremity of the lake, form a bar, the base of which projects nearly half a mile [**464**] into the lake. This sole passage excepted, the bay is separated from the lake by an isthmus, from two to four hundred yards broad. At the point, where this isthmus begins on the southern side of the lake, the unnavigable tract is about fifty feet in width. Small vessels are worked up into a small creek in the bay: whence they proceed without any impediment to any other part within its extent. The mountains, which near Fortymile-creek reach close to the lake, but afterwards recede to the distance of five or six miles,

*In this neighborhood, as well as throughout all the northern parts of the Union, they call a thatched roof of a round, square or polygonal form, which rests on long posts, but can be raised or lowered at pleasure, a Dutch loft.—*Author.* (Baraque hollandaise).

Page 462. "10th of June"—"20 juin," i.e., 20th of June." "timothy-grass"—"thymothy."

Page 463. "plantations"—"habitations." "borders on"—"termine," i.e., "forms the end of." "interrupted" followed in the French by "dans les trois quarts de l'année," i.e., "for three quarters of the year."

Page 464. "the unnavigable tract"—"le portage."

approach it again at the extremity of Burlington Bay. Their colour, as well as the quality of the intervening soil between them and the lake, affords ground to suppose, that they once formed its borders, and that the tract of ground, which now separates them from its present bed, and which is covered with very old and beautiful trees, has been formed by alluvia from the waters of the lake. This range of mountains, after having formed an opening, through which a pretty considerable river empties itself into the bay, rejoin, bound the lake for about a fourth part of its length, and stretch thence towards Lake Huron, in the vicinity of which they divide into different branches. the farther direction of which is not known. The geographical knowledge of this country, as far as it relates to the course [**465**] of the rivers, the shape of the vallies, and the direction of the chain of mountains, is yet very imperfect. Governor Simcoe is aware of the necessity of its being enlarged and perfected. But, in a newly occupied country, like this, the number of objects necessary to be attended to is immense.

During the whole of our excursion we passed through woods, copiously adorned with flowers of the most exquisite hues and fragrance, the names of which we could not learn. The numbers of fragrant trees, of a size unknown in Europe, was equally great.

The banks of the lake are rather unhealthy, and intermittent fevers are almost as frequent there, as in the district of Genessee. But few surgeons reside in the country; they are not suffered to practice, till after having undergone an examination by a physician, appointed by government. This prevention, which may prove very beneficial in future times, is at present of no avail. For, as very few apply for leave to practice, the most ignorant are admitted without difficulty, if they will only present themselves for admission.

By one of them I was informed, that the inferior classes of the inhabitants dread their advice in intermittent fevers, because they always prescribe [**466**] bark; and that poor people, instead of following their advice, have recourse to a sort of magic charm, in which universal confidence is placed in this country. If seized with the ague, they go into the forest, search out a branch of an elm or sassafras, of the last year's growth; fasten to this branch, without breaking it off the tree, a thread, which must not be quite new; tie as many knots, as they think they shall have fits of the fever; and then return home, perfectly convinced, that they shall not experience more fits, than they have bound themselves to sustain, by the number of knots they have tied. The first discoverers of this arcanum used to make so few knots, that the ague would frequently disappoint their hopes, but they who at present practice the superstition tie so many, that the febrile

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Page 464. "Their colour"—"Leur circuit."
Page 466. "bark"—"quinquina," i.e., "Peruvian bark."

matter is generally carried off, before the number of fits comes up to that of the knots.

A tour along the banks of the lake is extremely pleasant; the prospect of this vast sheet of water is majestic, and the traces of culture, which upon the whole has been commenced on the best principles, offer a picture, on which both the eye and the mind dwell with equal pleasure. The Governor is a worthy man, amiable and plain. The company was agreeable, and we enjoyed every convenience, which can be expected [**467**] on a journey of this kind. And yet, during the whole time of our residence in Naryhall, where he, as well as every one belonging to him, loaded us with civilities, in a manner the most agreeable, I did not experience one moment of true happiness, and real untainted enjoyment.

I am at a loss to account to myself for the various perceptions, which pressed upon my mind, and prevented my feelings from being entirely absorbed by gratitude, and by the pleasing sensations, it naturally produces. I love the English more, perhaps, than any other Frenchman; I have been constantly well treated by the English; I have friends among them; I acknowledge the many great qualities and advantages which they possess. I detest the horrid crimes, which stain the French revolution, and which destroyed so many objects of my love and esteem; I am banished from France; my estates are confiscated; by the government of my country I am treated as a criminal or corrupt citizen; severed from all I held dear, I have been reduced to extreme, inexpressible misery, by Robespierre, and the rest of the ruffians, whom my countrymen have suffered to become their tyrants; nor are my misfortunes yet consummated—and yet, the love of my country, this innate feeling, now so painful to me, so clashing with my present situation, [**468**] holds an absolute sway over my soul, and pursues me here more closely, than elsewhere. This English flag, under which I am sailing over lakes where the French flag was so long displayed; these forts, these guns, the spoils of France, this constant, obvious proof of our former weakness and of our misfortunes, give me pain, perplex and overpower me to a degree, which I am at a loss to explain. The success, last year, obtained by Lord Howe, which the English mention with more frankness, because they suppose our interest to be intimately connected with theirs; the eagerness they display in announcing new defeats of the French, the accounts of which are prefaced by the assurance, that English triumphs and exertions shall reinstate us

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Page 466. After the paragraph ending with "the knots," the French text has "Il est bien difficile que le secret et sur-tout ce dernier raffinement, ne soient pas l'invention de quelque prêtre," i.e., "It is difficult not to conclude that this secret remedy, and especially the last refinement, are not the invention of some priest." "A tour"—"Cette promenade," i.e., "That tour."

Page 467. "Perception"—"Sentimens." "corrupt citizen"—"mauvais citoyen," i.e., "bad citizen."

Page 468. "Give me pain, perplex and overpower me"—"me gênent, m'accablent, et me donner un excès d'embarras, de honte," i.e., "disturb me, overwhelm me and give me a terrible sense of perplexity—of shame." "our guests"—"mes hôtes," i.e., "my hosts." (Smith has corrected the text.)

in the possession of our estates, and followed with congratulations; all these common topics of conversation, which our guests seem to introduce with the best intention, prove more painful to my feelings, as I am necessitated to hide my thoughts, lest I should be deemed a fool by the few, in whose eyes I am no Jacobin, no Robespierrian, and because I am, as it were, at cross purposes with myself. And yet it is a sentiment rooted, deeply rooted in my soul, that I would continue poor and banished, all the days of my life, rather *than owe my restoration to my country and my estates to the influence of* [**469**] *foreign powers, and to British pride.* I hear of no defeat of the French armies, without grief, or of any of their triumphs, without my self-love being gratified to a degree, which at times I take not sufficient care to conceal*. And yet, notwithstanding these feelings, the confession of which may appear ridiculous in my present situation, I cannot discern the period, when anarchy shall cease in my ill-fated country, and liberty, regulated by wise and efficient laws, afford happiness at least to those, who are not banished; when France shall rest her glory on a safe and lasting foundation.

I do not know, whether those of my friends, who shall read these lines, will understand my meaning; and whether they will be more able, than I am, to reconcile these apparently incongruous feelings and perceptions. I have here thrown them together, as I felt and conceived them.

[**470**] In addition to the civilities offered here to our small company, Dupetitthouars experienced one of a peculiar complexion, consisting in a offer of lands in Upper Canada, made by Major Seward, who, without expressly stating, that he was authorised by the Governor to propose this offer, at least hinted something to that effect. The polite, yet peremptory answer, returned by Dupetitthouars, at once ended the business.

The taste for news is not by far so prevalent in Upper Canada as in the United States. Only one newspaper is printed in Newark; and but for the support granted by government, not the fourth part of the expense of the proprietor would be refunded by the sale of his papers. It is a short abstract of the newspapers of New York and Albany, accommodated to the principles of the Governor; with an epitome of the Quebec Gazette. In the front and back of the paper are advertisements. It is a weekly paper; but very few copies are sent to Fort Erie and Détroit. The newspaper press also serves for printing the acts of the

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*These "*Confessions d'un Emigré*," which ingenuously express the true sentiments of a very considerable part of the emigrated French nobility and gentry, are not, it seems, unworthy of the notice of foreign powers, and especially of our government. A French emigrant, who acted in the West Indies as field-officer in the British service, regretted, that the "*pavillon chéri*" was not waving at the mast-head of the vessels, on board of which he was going to combat the French.—*Translator.*

Page 469. "Wise and efficient laws"—"des loix bien obéïes," i.e., "laws well obeyed."

Page 470. "Dupetitthouars"—"du Petit-Thouars."

Legislature, and the notices and orders issued by the Governor; and this is its principal use. In point of news, the situation at Niagara is by no means convenient, especially in time of war.

The English ships are not yet arrived from [**471**] Quebec, and this day is the sixth of July. The intelligence, which reached Philadelphia about the time of our departure, has but just been received at Niagara. They tell us, that they know nothing, but what they have learned directly from England. What little information we have been able to collect from different quarters, concerning the sentiments of the people, and which we could only now and then obtain, as we should have otherwise have given offence by too much inquisitiveness on this head, coincides in representing the nation at large as desirous of tranquillity and peace. But the American loyalists, who have actually suffered by the war, still harbour enmity and hatred against their native land and countrymen. These sentiments however are daily decreasing, and are not shared by the far greater number of emigrants, who arrive from the United States, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. There are mal-contents in this country; but their number is small. Several new settlers, who migrate into this province from the United States, falsely profess an attachment to the British Monarch, and curse the government of the Union, for the mere purpose of thus wheedling themselves into the possession of lands. The high price of provision, the prohibition of a commercial intercourse, and the protracted delivery of the deeds [**472**] by which the property of granted lands is conveyed to the occupiers, form, indeed, grounds of much discontent; but this is by no means of a nature to cause uneasiness to the government, which seems even to doubt its existence, though, in case of a war with the United States, it might render its situation extremely critical.

The Episcopal is the established religion in Upper Canada. In Détroit, however, half of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics; and some families of Quakers, Baptists, and Dunkers, are scattered through the province, though in small numbers.

A seventh part of the lands is allotted to the support of the Protestant clergy. For the Roman Catholic service nothing is paid, except in Détroit. No church has yet been built, even in Newark. In the same halls, where the Legislative and Executive Councils hold their sittings, jugglers would be permitted to display their tricks, if any should ever stray to this remote country. Our last excursion in the environs of Naryhall brought us by Queenstown to one of the Tuscarora villages, which stands on the Indian territory, four miles from Naryhall. One of the roads, which lead thither, passes over mountains,

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Page 470. "from Quebec"—"à Québec," i.e., "at Quebec." (Smith has changed "from" into "at.")

Page 471. "England"—"Londres," i.e., "London."

Page 472. "Episcopal"—"anglicane épiscopale," i.e., "Church of England." "half of the inhabitants"—"la presque totalité," i.e., "almost all." "Baptists"—"memnonistes" (Mennonistes), i.e., "Mennonites." "Tuscarora"—"Tuscororas."

that border upon the falls. This road affords some interesting prospects, such as precipices, dreary [**473**] recesses, wild romantic scenes as far as the mountains project over the river, still hemmed in between this double range of high rocks. They become truly admirable where the mountains slope towards the plain, which separates them from the banks of the lake; this whole plain, Fort Niagara, the bank of the lake, the lake itself, nay, a part of the opposite bank, bursting at once on your view. The soil seems everywhere to be of a good quality.

This Tuscarora village has as dirty and mean an appearance as all the other villages we have hitherto seen; but the inhabitants, being informed of the intended visit of the Governor, had painted themselves with the utmost care, and were dressed in their most fashionable style. They fancied he came to hold an assembly. A booth, covered with green branches, before the door of the habitation of the chieftain, on which the English flag was waving, was the place singled out for the expected solemnity. The inhabitants were rather disappointed, when they learned from the Governor, that he came with no other view but to pay them a visit. He sat down in the booth. The Indians were seated on benches placed in a semi-circular form, and smoaked tobacco. As many of the young men as could find room sat at the end, or stood leaning on the rails. General [**474**] Simcoe and ourselves were in the centre of the semi-circle: women and children were kept at a distance.

PATERSON, an American by birth, whom the Indians took prisoner at the age of ten years (he is now twenty-five) acted as interpreter to the Governor. All his speeches, like every discourse of the English agents addressed to the Indians, turned on the same subject. He told them also, at this time, that the Yankees were brooding over some evil design against them; that they had no other object in view but to rob them of their lands; and that their good Father (King George) was the true friend of their nation. He also repeated that the maize-thief (T—— P——) was a rogue and a liar.

His speech, however, met not with much applause on the part of the Tuscaroras. The Seneca-Indians had called here a week before, on their way to Naryhall, and told them, that they were going to the Governor, without entering into any particulars respecting the object of their visit. This circumstance led the Tuscaroras to conclude, that something very important was in negociation between the Senecas and the Governor, probably tending to the prejudice of their nation; for mistrust, suspicion, and apprehensions, form the prominent features of the policy of the [**475**] Indians; and it must be confessed, that this way of thinking is a very natural consequence of the conduct of the colonists towards them.

Page 473. "tobacco"—"dans de longues pipes," i.e., "long pipes," "leaning on the rails"—"reposés sur leur raquette," i.e., "leaning on their crosse."

Page 474. "the maize thief (T— P—)"—"l'oiseau noir (Timothy Pickering)," i.e., "the Black bird (Timothy Pickering)."

Page 475. "colonists"—"blancs," i.e., "whites" (as almost always).

The Governor disclaimed all particular negociations with the Senecas; and, in order to divert them from this opinion, made use of all the compliments and assurances, which he thought any way fitted to flatter their vanity, or allay their fears. He again told them of the Yankees, of the *maize-thief,* and of King George; but all this did not satisfy them. His promise of granting them lands in Canada, if the Yankees should drive them from their homes, made no deeper impression; nothing could brighten that cold, nay, gloomy countenance, which they generally preserve while they are treating on business. The extreme care, which they employ to conceal their impressions on similar occasions, may either be the effect of a studied dissimulation, the necessity of which they may have learned in their intercourse with the colonists, or merely the result of character and habit. This anecdote, however trifling in itself, shows how easily the jealousy between the different Indian nations is roused; a disposition which, like all the other foibles of the Indians, both the English and the Americans turn to their advantage.

There are few Indian villages, where some [**476**] persons, of European descent have not settled, who generally enjoy a considerable share of influence over the tribe. They are commonly people of a very indifferent character, attracted by the idle, extravagant, and drunken habits of the Indians. It is a general remark, that the whites, who reside among them, are extremely vicious, cruel, and covetous, and the very worst husbands and fathers.

Intermitting fevers are very frequent in this village. The Indians frequently take the advice of the physician, whom the English Government appoints, and pays on their account; but they, far more frequently, take draughts, which they prepare themselves from the juice of herbs. Although the neighbourhood is much infected with rattle-snakes, yet none of the present inhabitants of this village were ever bitten by them. Their remedy, in this case, would consist of salt and water, which they think infallible, and fully sufficient to effect a cure.

We met on this excursion an American family, who with some oxen, cows, and sheep, were emigrating to Canada. "We come," said they, "to the Governor," whom they did not know, "to see whether he will give us land." "Aye, aye," the Governor replied, "you are tired of the federal government; you like not any longer to have so many kings; you wish again for your [**477**] old father," (it is thus the Governor calls the British Monarch when he speaks with Americans); "you are perfectly right; come along, we love such good royalists as you are, we will give you land."

On our return from Queenstown we descended in the Governor's boat the noble river Niagara, the banks of which imagination delights to fancy covered with inhabitants, and reclaimed by culture from their

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Page 475. "maize thief"—"l'oiseau noir," i.e., "black-bird."
Page 477. "boat"—"canot," i.e., "canoe."

present wild state, and views rich and charming landscapes; but this richness, and these charms, will probably yet, for a considerable time, enchant the eye of fancy alone.

During our residence in Naryhall, Messrs. Dupetitthouars and Guillemard took the opportunity of the return of a gun-boat, and made an excursion to York. Indolence, politeness to the Governor, and the conviction that I should meet with nothing remarkable in that place, united to dissuade me from this journey. My friends informed me on their return, that this town, which the Governor had fixed upon as the capital of Upper Canada, before he thought of building a capital on the Thames, has a fine extensive road, detached from the lake by a neck of land of unequal breadth, being in some places a mile, in others only six score yards broad; that the entrance of this road is about a mile in width; that in the [**478**] middle of it is a shoal or sand-bank, the narrows on each side of which may be easily defended by works erected on the two points of land at the entrance, where two block-houses have already been constructed; that this is two miles and a half long, and a mile wide; and that the elevation of the shore greatly facilitates its defence by fortifications to be thrown up on the most convenient points.

Governor Simcoe intends to make York the centre of the naval force on Lake Ontario. Only four gun-boats are, at present, on this lake; two of which are constantly employed in transporting merchandize; the other two, which alone are fit to carry troops and guns, and have oars and sails, are lying under shelter until an occasion occurs to convert them to their intended purpose. It is the Governor's intention to build ten similar gun-boats on Lake Ontario, and ten on Lake Erie. The ship-carpenters, who construct them, reside in the United States, and return home every winter.

There have not been more than twelve houses hitherto built in York. They stand on the bay near the River Dun. The inhabitants do not possess the fairest character. One of them is the noted BATY, the leader of the German families, who according to the assertions of Captain Williamson, [**479**] were decoyed away by the English, to injure and obstruct the prosperity of his settlement.

Notwithstanding the navigation of this river, there is a portage of thirty miles between York and Lake Simcoe, by which the merchandize, that comes from Lake Huron, might reach that place in a straighter line. The barracks, which are occupied by the Governor's regiment, stand on the road, two miles from the town, and near the lake; desertion, I am told, is very frequent among the soldiers.

Page 477. "road"—"rade," i.e., "harbour" or "roadstead."

Page 478. "that this is, etc.," i.e., the harbour. After "a mile wide," the French text has "qu'elle était saine dans tout ses points," i.e., "that it was clear and navigable at all points." "Baty"—"Batzy," i.e., "Berczy." (Smith corrects "Dun" into "Don and "Baty" into "Bertzy").

In a circumference of one hundred and fifty miles the Indians are the only neighbours of York. They belong to the tribe of the Missassogas. I shall here observe, that all, who have visited the Indians in Upper Canada, assure us, that Father CHARLEVOIX has delineated their manners with the same exactness and truth, which has he in general displayed in the description of the countries he traversed.

After a residence of eighteen days at Naryhall, we took leave of the Governor on Friday the 10th of July. He wished us to stay a little longer; but Lord DORCHESTER'S answer had probably reached Kingston by this time; and, notwithstanding the Governor's true politeness and [**480**] generous hospitality, we were not entirely free from apprehensions of incommoding him.

I hope that he has been as satisfied with the sincerity and frankness of Mr. Dupetitthouars and myself, as we were with his kindness. As to Mr. Guillemard, I make no mention of him, since, he being an Englishman, his situation is altogether different from ours. We enjoyed in the General's house the most perfect freedom of opinion, which a man of his distinguished talents will always cherish, and but for which we should not have been able to continue so long at Naryhall as we did.

Everything we have seen and heard in this part of Upper Canada renders it, in our judgment, extremely probable, that her dependance on England will not be of long duration. The spirit of independance, which prevails in the United States, has already gained ground in this province, and will, no doubt, be much encreased by a more immediate connection with the United States. The comparison drawn by the inhabitants of Upper Canada, between the price of commodities subject to English duties and customs, and the value of the same articles on the opposite shore, will be a sufficient source of envy and discontent. The navigation being carried [**481**] on by both countries on the same lakes and canals, it will be impossible to prevent the contraband-trade: and this cannot but prove highly prejudicial to Great Britain, at least according to the system, by which she is guided in the government of her colonies. This contraband-trade will be a constant object of dispute between the two states, and will furnish the Governor of Upper Canada with sufficient pretences for commencing and promoting a war. But, a contest, the natural consequence of which would be an increase of the price of provision in Canada far above what it would bear in the United States, could not be a popular war. It would be a repetition of the American War of the Stamp-act, and of the Tea-tax, and would probably be attended with the same consequences.

The natural order of things at this moment and the universal disposition of nations, announce the separation of Canada from Great Britain as an event, which cannot fail to take place. I know nothing, than can prevent it. By great prosperity and glory, by signal successes in her wars, and by undisturbed tranquillity at home, Great Britain may be able to maintain her power over this country, as long as considerable sums shall

be expended to promote its population and prosperity; as long as it shall enjoy the most complete [**482**] exemption from all the taxes and burthens of the mother country; in fine, as long as a mild government, by resources prompt and well applied, by useful public establishments, not yet existing, and by encouragements held out to all classes and descriptions of citizens, shall convince a people already invited and qualified by a wise constitution to enjoy all the blessings of liberty, of the advantages of a monarchical government, which in its benevolent projects unites wisdom of conception with rapidity of execution.

But these conditions are and will hardly be fulfilled. In our time, perhaps soon, Great Britain will lose this bright jewel of her crown*. In regard to Canada, she will experience the same fate, as she is likely to share, sooner or later, respecting her possessions in India; as will befall Spain in respect to her Florida and Mexico, Portugal [**483**] in regard to her Brazil, in short all European powers, respecting such of their colonies, at least, as they possess on the continents, unless, enlightened by experience, they shall speedily change the colonial form of government.

Before I close the article of Niagara, I must make particular mention of the civility shown us by Major LITTLEHALES, adjutant and first secretary to the Governor; a well-bred, mild, and amiable man, who has charge of the whole correspondence of government, and acquits himself with peculiar ability and application. Major Littlehales appeared to possess the confidence of the country. This is not unfrequently the case with men in place and power; but his worth, politeness, prudence and judgment, give this officer peculiar claims to the confidence and respect, which he universally enjoys.

We embarked at Kingston on board the Onondago, one of the cutters, which compose the naval force on the lake. This cutter is pierced for twelve six-pounders, but carries only six in time of peace. When these vessels are not laden with stores for the King's service, they are freighted with merchandize, for which the merchants either pay freight, or engage to transport in their bottoms an equal quantity of the King's stores.

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*Readers, endowed with a larger share of political sagacity, than the author displays throughout the whole train of arguments on which he grounds this dismal presage, will probably incline to believe the predicted revolution in Canada not quite so near at hand, as it appears to the Duke, who seems not to recollect, that the British government, by substituting, as he himself calls it, "a wise constitution" in the stead of the ancient constitutional form of Canada, has adopted the very means, to prevent her loss, which at the close of his observations on the subject, he advises as the only preventive of such a calamity.—*Translator.*

Page 482. "these conditions are," add "not." "Mais toutes ces conditions ne sont pas et ne peuvent pas être remplies." "But all these conditions are not and cannot be fulfilled."

Page 483. "ability and" is an interpolation of the translator's. "not unfrequently"—"toujours," i.e., "always."

[**484**] The Onondago is of eighty tons burthen. On this occasion, she had two detachments on board; one of the fifth regiment, destined for Kingston to bring money; and another of the Queen's rangers, to receive at Montreal new cloathing for the regiment. There were, besides, forty-one Canadians on board, who had conducted ten vessels for the King's service from Montreal to Niagara. The cabin-passengers were, Mr. Richard, Mr. Seward, whom I have already mentioned, Mr. BELLEW, who commanded the detachment of the fifth regiment, which was going to fetch money, Mr. HILL, another officer of the same regiment, who was ill, and was going to Kingston for the recovery of his health, Mr. LEMOINE, an officer of the sixtieth regiment, quartered at Kingston, and our party.

The wind was tolerably fair during our passage; this is generally accomplished in thirty-six hours; at times in sixteen; but it took us forty-eight hours. Dead calms are frequent, especially at this time of the year, and last sometimes five days. Scarcely any motion was observable on the waters of the lake. This passage, which is one hundred and fifty miles long, offers no interesting objects; the coast soon disappears from your view, especially in hot weather, when the horizon is [**485**] clouded with vapours, as when we sailed. Ducks' Islands form, to speak generally, the only trifling danger on this passage. They are three in number, lying in a line; there is no passage for ships either between the coast and the island on the left, or between this and the middle island, on account of the rocks under the water, on which ships would unavoidably be lost. You must pass between the middle island and that on the right, where the water is from four to five miles in width, and sufficiently deep to afford a safe navigation. The only danger, to be here encountered, might arise from a sudden gust of wind, springing up the moment, you approach the islands, and driving the ship into one of the dangerous channels. To the best of my knowledge, but one shipwreck has happened here, within the memory of man; but no vessel ventures near the islands by night, except when the weather is perfectly fair and clear. A more common and more real danger arises from the storms, which frequently on a sudden arise on the lake, render it even more boisterous than the sea, and cause the ships to labour and strain more severely, on account of the shortness of the waves, bounded by the small extent of the waters. The ships are then in constant danger of being driven on shore, and would hardly be able to avoid it, if the [**486**] storms lasted longer. But they generally continue only for a short time, especially in

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Page 484. "the recovery of his health"—"pour changer d'air," i.e., "for change of air." "Dead calms are frequent, especially at this time of the year, and last sometimes five days"—"elle dure souvent cinq jours, dans ce tems-ci sur-tout où le calme est habituel," i.e., "it (i.e., the voyage) often lasts five days, especially at the season when it is steady calm."

Page 485. "Ducks' Islands"—"Ducks-islands." "lying in a line," prefix "à peu-près," i.e., "nearly." "more boisterous" add "dit-on," i.e., "they say."

summer, and the clearing up of the weather is as sudden as the coming on of the storms. They are, properly speaking, only violent gales of wind, which in autumn frequently blow two days together, and succeed each other very rapidly. Five or six years ago, a ship was lost, with every hand on board, and instances of this kind are said not to be uncommon at that time of the year. From November until April, the navigation is entirely discontinued on the lake.

During our passage, Lieutenant EARL, who commanded the cutter, and almost all our fellow-passengers, behaved to us, in the most civil and obliging manner. The weather was very warm, and had been so for the last eight or ten days. The mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer stood, at Naryhall, frequently at ninety-two; but on board the vessel, in the cabin, it was only at sixty-four. It is less the intensity of the heat, than its peculiar nature, which renders it altogether intolerable; it is sultry and close, and more so by night, than by day, when it is sometimes freshened by a breeze, which is not the case in the night; the opening of the windows affords no relief; you do not perspire, but feel oppressed; you respire with difficulty; your sleep [**487**] is interrupted and heavy; and you rise more fatigued, than when you lay down to rest.

I have already mentioned, that we had a detachment of the fifth regiment on board. They dressed before we arrived at Kingston. Eight days before we had seen the Indians painting their eyes with lamp-black and red-lead, and braiding their hair, to fix in it feathers or horses' manes, dyed red or blue. This day we saw European soldiers plastering their hair, or if they had none, their heads, with a thick white mortar, which they laid on with a brush, and afterwards raked, like a garden-bed, with an iron comb; and then fastening on their head a piece of wood, as large as the palm of the hand, and shaped like the bottom of an artichoke, to make a *cadogan,* which they filled with the same white mortar, and *raked* in the same manner, as the rest of their head-dress.

This is a brief sketch of the spectacle, which these soldiers exhibited to us, the last two hours of our passage; though their toilette was not exactly the same as that of the Indians, yet they consulted their looking-glass with the same anxious care. These observations are less intended to throw a ridicule on the dress of the soldiers, and the childish attention paid to it in all countries, than to check the forwardness of those, who are ever [**488**] ready to ridicule all manners and habits, which are not their own. The Indian savage would be at a loss, whether to laugh more at the Turk, who covers his shorn head with a turban, containing more or fewer folds in proportion to his rank and

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Page 486. "ninety-two" add "(26 dégrés deux tiers de Reaumur)," i.e., "26⅔° Reaumur." After "sixty-four" add "(23 dégrés demi-quart de Reaumur)," i.e., "23⅛° Reaumur." This is an error; 64°F. is 14 2-9° Reaumer; and 23⅛° Reaumur is 84⅛° Fahrenheit.

Page 487. "cadogan"—"catogan." "head-dress"—"tête," i.e., "head."

consequence—at the women in the island of Melos, whose petticoats scarcely cover half their thighs, while their sleeves reach down to the ground—or at our *belles,* who ten years ago confined their breasts and waists in huge stays, with false hips, and strutted along on high heels, and who now screw up their waist to the middle of their bosoms, tied round with a girdle, which looks more like a rope, than a sash, wear their arms naked up to the shoulders, and by means of transparent garments expose every thing to view, which formerly they thought themselves obliged to conceal, and all this, forsooth, to resemble Grecian ladies.

Sunday, the 12th of July.

When Ducks' Islands were about twenty miles a-stern of us, the lake grew more narrow, and the number of islands increased. They seemed all to be well wooded, but are not inhabited, and lie nearly all of them along the right bank. On the left is Quenty Bay, which stretches about [**489**] fifty miles into the country, and the banks of which are said to be cultivated up to a considerable extent. The eye dwells with pleasure, once more, on cultivated ground. The country looks pleasant. The houses lie closer, than in any of the new settled parts of Upper Canada, which we have hitherto traversed. The variegated verdure of the corn-fields embellishes and enriches the prospect, charms the eye, and enchants the mind. In the back-ground stands the city of Kingston, on the bay of the same name, which the French, in imitation of the Indians, called Cadarakwe. It consists of about one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty houses. The ground in the immediate vicinity of the city rises with a gentle swell, and forms, from the lake onwards, as it were, an amphitheatre of lands, cleared, but not yet cultivated. None of the buildings are distinguished by a more handsome appearance from the rest. The only structure, more conspicuous than the others, and in front of which the English flag is hoisted, is *the barracks,* a stone building, surrounded with pallisadoes.

All the houses stand on the northern bank of the bay, which stretches a mile farther into the country. On the southern bank are the buildings belonging to the naval force, the wharfs, [**490**] and the habitations of all the persons, who belong to that department. The King's ships lie at anchor near these buildings, and consequently have a harbour and road separate from the port for merchantmen. We landed at Port Royal. However *kingly* were the commander and his ship, he took our money. Governor Simcoe expressly desired us not to pay for our passage, as the cutter was a King's ship, and he had amply

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Page 488. The description of the existing ladies' dress is given by the author as a "dit-on," "they say:" and he adds at the end of the paragraph "l'Indien sauvage serait sans doute embarrassé de savoir desquels il aurait à rire davantage," i.e., "the savage Indian would hardly know which to laugh at the more." "Ducks' Islands"—"les îles aux Canards." "Quenty Bay"—"la baye de Quenty."

Page 490. After "at anchor" add "dans la rivière," i.e., "in the river." "kingly"—"royal."

supplied us with provision. But my friend Dupetitthouars, as well as myself, were so much displeased with the idea, of making this passage at the expence of the King of England, that we ventured to offer our money to Captain Earl. Offers of this kind are seldom refused, nor did ours meet with a denial. Yet, it is but justice to add, that Captain Earl is a worthy man, civil, attentive, constantly on the deck, apparently fond of his profession, and master of his business.

No letter from Lord Dorchester had yet arrived, and it was extremely uncertain when it would arrive. The calculation, made at Kingston, respecting the probable time of the return of an answer, is less favourable than what they made at Niagara. We shall, perhaps, be obliged to wait a week longer. How much time will be lost for our journey, and why? Because Governor Simcoe is not on good terms with Lord Dorchester; [**491**] and because he observes the nicest punctuality, from which, in consideration of the letters we brought with us, he might well have departed in this case. Our friend, Mr. Hammond, might have saved us this unpleasant delay, by writing sooner to Lord Dorchester, as I requested him to do. Unfortunately such accidents cannot be foreseen. If they could, how many things should we alter in the course of our life? We must wait. Patience, patience, and again patience.

Kingston is the place, to which Lord Dorchester wishes, that General Simcoe should transfer the seat of government in Upper Canada. In this choice he is, perhaps, in a great measure influenced by the advantage, which he would thus enjoy, of having all the troops, in case of an attack, in the vicinity of Quebec, which is, in his opinion, the only tenable place in Lower Canada. He thinks, that if the seat of the government of Upper Canada were removed to Kingston, which lies nearer to Quebec than any other place, the orders and news, which arrive from Europe, would reach this place with more rapidity and safety, and would also be more rapidly circulated through the province. He further imagines, that the naval stores, sent from Europe, would here be safer, and that the refitting of ships would be cheaper, and with more security erected in Kingston, [**492**] whither, at all times, they might be sent directly from Quebec, at least more expeditiously than to any other place on the lake, where the inconvenience of a tedious and uncertain passage must be added to the expence for shifting the cargo on board of another vessel.

Governor Simcoe, on the contrary, is of opinion, that by the aggregate of his arrangements, the defence of Upper Canada might be easily effected. He adds, that the wealth of the country, which he

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Page 490. "A week"—"huit jours," literally "eight days," but often equivalent to our obsolescent "se'nnight."

Page 491. "Punctuality"—"ponctuelle exactitude," i.e., "nicest exactitude." "again patience"—"toujours patience," i.e., "ever patience." After "Lower Canada" read "pour de là envoyer des partis en avant, si la guerre peut devenir offensive," i.e., "in case of an offensive war, to send thence advance troops."

considers as the necessary result of his projects, will attract the enemy; and that if they should make themselves masters of Upper Canada, it would be impossible to dislodge them. He also observes, that, in time of war, by the various means of navigation, considerable parties might be easily sent from Upper Canada to every point of the United States, even to Georgia; that Upper Canada is the key of the territories of the Indians; and that thence succours may be easily sent to every part of Lower Canada, which, on the other hand, is not able to send any to Upper Canada, at least not so expeditiously as circumstances might require.

As to the more rapid circulation of orders and intelligence, and the earlier receipt of them, the Governor allows the truth of these allegations; but answers, that, from the vast extent of Canada [**493**] it is extremely improbable, that in case of its being peopled, this territory should be divided only into two governments. He adds, that the best method of peopling such parts of Canada, as have hitherto been explored, would be, to encourage the population of the two extremities, in which case, the prosperity of the centre would be more easily and rapidly attained. He further observes, that, in such a case, Kingston would become the capital of a new province: and that, in regard to the more difficult and more expensive distribution of ships, no facility and savings, to be obtained under this head, could balance the advantage of uniting in its centre the whole naval force stationed on the lake, and especially in a place, where it is most essentially protected against an attack.

All men seek after reasons or pretensions to enlarge the extent of their authority and power. Here, as every where else, good and bad reasons are alleged in support of a system, of a project, and especially of the interests of self-love. Yet power is also here, as every where else, the best, at least the most decisive of reasons; and if Lord Dorchester should not be able to prevail upon the British government to declare Kingston the capital of Upper Canada, he will, at least, prevent the seat of government from being established between the lakes Erie, Huron, and Ontario, according [**494**] to the wish of General Simcoe. As to the project of transferring it to York, he declares himself in a manner by no means favourable to that city; and in this opinion he is joined by all the inhabitants of Kingston, whose displeasure at their city not becoming the capital of the province is greatly increased by the consideration that, in consequence of this project, their town will cease to be the emporium of the small naval force stationed on this lake. The friends of Kingston further allege against the project, and not without reason, that York is an unhealthy place, and will long remain so, from the nature of the ground, which separates the bay from the lake.

Dupetitthouars, who is a zealous partizan of York, as far as he considers it in the light of an establishment for the navy, cannot help

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Page 494. "Unhealthy"—"extrèmement mal-sain," i.e., "extremely unwholesome."

allowing that it has the air of being an unhealthy place. General Simcoe apparently possesses the love and confidence of all the inhabitants and soldiers. But his projects are deemed too extensive; and, above all, too costly, in proportion to the advantages, which England is likely to reap from their being carried into effect.

The merchants on the lake, whose rapacity the Governor is endeavouring to restrain, lay great stress on these two objections, and bestow much praise on Lord Dorchester's profound wisdom and [**495**] consummate abilities; while, by other accounts, he was formerly an useful man, but is now superannuated.

Lord Dorchester being an utter stranger to me, I am altogether unqualified to judge of his abilities and talents. I am also unacquainted with the amount of the expence, which the execution of Governor Simcoe's plans may require, and with the resources which England may possess to meet them. But I am clearly of opinion, that Great Britain cannot fail to reap signal advantages from his views and projects, if they should ever be carried into effect; and that they compose a complete system, which, if properly pursued in all its parts, will do great credit to him, who shall execute it.

But, at the same time, all the information we here obtain on this subject confirms our opinion, that General Simcoe meets with much opposition in his plans; that the jealousy, which Lord Dorchester shows in regard to him, and which is the natural result of his age and temper of mind, is carefully kept alive, by those who hold places under him; and that, with the exception of grants of land, and other matters of government, in respect to which the Governor is perfectly independent, he can do and enact nothing without the consent of the Governor General. As to his [**496**] rooted aversion against the Americans, I have heard it censured even by private soldiers; but he is allowed by all to possess military talents.

In relating these particulars, which finish the picture of *the man,* I have no other object, but faithfully to draw the character of Governor Simcoe, who, being undoubtedly a man of superior abilities and endowments, deserves to be known.*

Kingston, considered as a town, is much inferior to Newark; the number of houses is nearly equal in both. Kingston may contain a few

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Page 495. "I am clearly of the opinion"—"il me semble," i.e., "it seems to me." In the exceptions to the power of Dorchester add "les affaires de son régiment," i.e., "the affairs of his regiment."

*Governor Simcoe has since left Upper Canada, and returned to England, whence he has been sent to St. Domingo. In that colony he has found no opportunity for displaying his military talents, but has endeavoured to curb the rapacity of the small army in the pay of Great Britain, and by this meritorious conduct excited the hatred both of the French and English, who have gratified it in a dreadful manner.—*Author.*

Page 496. "Private soldiers"—"militaires," i.e., "the military." Note* "gratified it in a dreadful manner"—"en profitaient outrageusement," i.e., "profited by it (the thefts of money, which the translator calls 'rapacity') outrageously."

more buildings, but they are neither so large nor so good as at Newark. Many of them are log-houses, and those which consist of joiner's work, are badly constructed and painted. But few new houses are built. No town-hall, no court-house, and no prison have hitherto been constructed. The houses of two or three merchants are conveniently situated for loading and unloading ships; but, in point of structure, these are not better than the rest. Their trade chiefly consists of peltry, [**497**] which comes across the lake, and in provision from Europe, with which they supply Upper Canada. They act as agents or commissioners of the Montreal Company, who have need of magazines in all places, where their goods must be unshipped.

The trade of Kingston, therefore, is not very considerable. The merchant ships are only three in number, and make but eleven voyages in a year. Kingston is a staple port. It is situated twelve miles above that point of the river, which is considered as the extremity of the lake. Here arrive all the vessels, which sail up the river of St. Lawrence, laden with provision brought in European ships to Quebec.

The barracks are constructed on the site of Fort Frontenac, which was built by the French, and levelled by the English. The latter built these barracks about six years ago. During the American war their troops were constantly in motion; and, in later times, they were quartered in an island, which the French call Isle aux Chevreaux, (Goats' Island) and which the English have named Carleton, after Lord Dorchester. Fort Frontenac, which was liable to be attacked on all sides, would answer no other purpose but to protect the small garrison, which the French kept there, against the attack of the Indians and [**498**] English; a part of the garrison was quartered in Cadarakwe, for the protection of the French trade. Here were also built, by Mr. DE LASALLE, the first French ships, which navigated the lake.

Kingston seems better fitted for a trading town than Newark, were it only for this reason, that the ships, which arrive at the latter place, and are freighted for Lake Erie, pass by the former, to sail again up the river as far as Queenstown, where the portage begins. Nor is its position equally advantageous for sharing the trade in provision, with which the lake may one day supply Lower Canada, England, perhaps all Europe, if Upper Canada should ever answer the expectations entertained by Governor Simcoe.

Page 496. "Those which consist of joiner's work"—"celles en menuiserie," "frame houses." "Painted" should be preceded by "badly."

Page 497. "Comes across the lake"—"arrivent des lacs," i.e., "come from the lakes." "A staple port"—"un des points de dépôt," i.e., "one of the points at which goods are kept stored." After "extremity of the lake" read "plus loin, la navigation serait jugée dangereuse," i.e., "Further on, the navigation would be considered dangerous." "Six"—"dix," i.e., "ten."

Page 498. "Cadarakwe"—"Cadarakoes." "Queen's Town"—"Queenstown."

Kingston is, at present, the chief town of the middle district of Upper Canada, the most populous part of which is that situated on Queen's Bay. This district not only produces the corn requisite for its own consumption, but also exports yearly about three or four thousand bushels. This grain, which in winter is conveyed down the river on sledges, is bought by the merchants, who engage, on the arrival of the ships from Europe, to pay its amount in such merchandize, as the sellers may require. The merchants buy this grain for government, which pays for it, in [**499**] ready money, according to the market price at Montreal. The agentn of government causes a part to be ground into flour, which he sends to the different posts in Upper Canada, where it is wanted; and the surplus he sends to England, probably with a view of raising the importance of the colony in the estimation of the mother country. The price of flour in Kingston, is, at present, six dollars per barrel.

The district of Kingston supplied, last year, the other parts of Canada with large quantities of pease; the culture of which, introduced but two years ago, proves very productive and successful. In the course of last year, one thousand barrels of salt pork, of two hundred and eight pounds each, were sent from Kingston to Quebec; its price was eighteen dollars per barrel. The whole trade is carried on by merchants, whose profits are the more considerable, as they fix the price of the provision, which they receive from Europe, and either sell in the vicinity, or ship for the remoter parts of Upper Canada, without the least competition, and just as they think proper.

Although the number of cultivators is here greater than in the district of Niagara, yet the vast quantity of land under cultivation is not better managed than theirs. The difficulty of procuring labourers obstructs agricultural improvements [**500**] and encourages them to insist on enormous wages.

The process of clearing woodlands is here the same, as all over America. The husbandmen harrow the cleared ground two, three, or four years successively; during which time wheat is sown. Then they plough, but in a very imperfect manner, and sow pease or oats, and again wheat, and so on, according to the common routine. The land yields, in this state, from twenty to thirty bushels per acre.

Corn, for the winter, is sown from the beginning of August till the end of September. Snow falls generally in the latter days of Novem-

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Page 498. "middle district"—"du Milieu," i.e., "Midland District." (The District which by Dorchester's Proclamation of 1788 was the Mecklenburgh District has its name changed to "Midland District" in 1792 by the Upper Canada Act, 32 George III., c. 8, s. 3.) "Queen's Bay"—"la baie de Quenti," i.e., "the Bay of Quenti."

Page 499. After "to England" add "en nature de bled," i.e., "in the shape of wheat." "With a view of raising the importance of the colony in the estimation of the Motherland"—"pour favoriser les moulins de la métropole," i.e., "for the advantage of the mills of the metropolis." "In the course of last year"—"les deux dernières années," i.e., "the last two years."

Page 500. At the end of the paragraph ending "per acre" read "voilà le *trantran* commun," i.e., "that's the usual thing." "Corn, for the winter"—"Les bleds d'hiver," i.e., "Fall wheat."

ber, and remains on the ground until the beginning of April. Under this cover the blade gets up remarkably well; the corn ripens in July, and the harvest begins about the end of that month. For want of reapers, the scythe is made use of, which causes a great waste of corn, that cannot be housed, and merely serves for feeding pigs. Labourers, whose common wages are from three to four shillings (Halifax currency), are paid during the harvest at the rate of one dollar, or six shillings a day. Some farmers hire Canadians for two or three months, to whom they pay seven or eight dollars per month, and find them in victuals. It frequently happens, that these [**501**] Canadians, who bind themselves by a written contract, meet with people offering them more money than they receive from their masters, which not being allowed to accept, they, of course, grow dissatisfied, and work negligently. They must be procured from the environs of Montreal. Farmers, who have no acquaintance in that country, find it difficult to obtain them; and this difficulty deters many cultivators from recurring to that resource, from which they might else derive considerable advantages. The harvest work is therefore generally performed by the family: thus the housing of the crops, though it proceed slowly, is yet accomplished; but the farmer has much additional trouble, and the loss he sustains, by his harvest being less perfect, far exceeds the few dollars, which he would have been obliged to spend in gathering in his crops in a more expeditious manner. The soil, which is but of a middling quality in the vicinity of the town, is excellent about the bay; many farmers possess there to the number of one hundred and fifty acres of land, thoroughly cleared.

The climate of America, especially that of Canada, encourages the the imprudence and covetousness of the farmers. There is no danger here, as in Europe, of the hay rotting, and the grain being spoiled by rains, if not speedily housed. [**502**] There seldom passes a day without sunshine; the sky is seldom entirely overcast, it never rains but during thunder-storms, and this rain never continues longer than two hours. Grain is, besides, seldom liable here to blights, or any other kind of disease.

The cattle are not subject to contagious distempers; they are numerous without being remarkably fine. The finest oxen are procured from Connecticut, at the price of seventy or eighty dollars a yoke. Cows are brought either from the state of New York, and these are the finest; or from Canada: the former cost twenty, and the latter fifteen dollars. These are small in size, but, in the opinion of the farmers, better milch-cows, and are for this reason preferred. There are no fine bulls in

Page 500. "Scythe"—"la faulx à rateau," i.e., "cradle." ("Faux à rateau" is still good French for "cradle," the spelling faulx is archaic.)

Page 501. "Acres"—"arpents," not quite the same. "Grain being spoiled"—"les bleds germés,' i.e., "the grain sprouted."

Page 502. "Canada"—"Bas Canada," i.e., "Lower Canada." After "small in size" read "donnent de faibles élèves," i.e., "bring forth weakly calves." "Better milch cows"—"au moins aussi bonnes laitières," i.e., "at least as good milch cows." After "preferred" read "par beaucoup de fermiers," i.e., "by many farmers."

the country; and the generality of farmers are not sensible of the advantages to be derived from cattle of a fine breed. In summer the cattle are turned into the woods; in winter, that is, six months together, they are fed on dry fodder, namely, with the straw of wheat, rye, or pease, and on most farms with hay cut on swampy ground, but by rich and prudent farmers with good hay. The hay is frequently kept the whole winter within a sort of fence, covered with large branches, through which, however, the snow finds its way; but commonly [**503**] it is preserved in ricks badly made, and under Dutch hay-sheds. The meadows yield to the quantity of four thousand pounds per acre, but no aftercrop. There is no ready market at which a farmer can sell that part of his cheese and butter, which is not wanted for the use of his family. Of cheese and butter, therefore, no more is made, than the family need for their own consumption. They generally begin in the first days of May to make a provision for the winter. Some few farmers manufacture coarse woollens for their own clothing; the more usual way, however, is to buy the clothes. The farmer is too busy, has too little assistance, and makes his calculations with two little judgment, to engage in such a multiplicity of labours.

Sheep are more numerous here than in any part of the United States, which we have hitherto traversed. They are either procured from Lower Canada, or the state of New York, and cost three dollars a head. They thrive in this country, but are high legged, and of a very indifferent shape. Coarse wool, when cleaned, costs two shillings a pound. There are few or no wolves, rattle-snakes, or other noxious animals, in this country.

The farmers make but little maple-sugar, though the woods abound with the trees, from [**504**] which it is procured. The Indians import about two or three thousand pounds, and sell it to the retail traders for one shilling a pound. Maple-sugar is prepared in much larger quantities in Lower Canada. The Canadians eat it here on bread, or make cakes of it, mixed up with flour of wheat, or Indian corn. On

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Page 502. "The hay is frequently, etc., etc."—the translator wholly misunderstands the text; the author is speaking of the cattle, not the hay. The author goes on "Les bonnes granges, au moins pour le foin n'y sont pas plus communes que les bonnes étables, le foin est généralement conservés en mauvaises meules ou sous des barraques hollandaises," i.e., "Good barns, at least for hay, are as scarce as good stables; the hay is commonly kept in poorly made stacks or under Dutch sheds."

Page 503. After "after crop" the text reads "le cultivateur ne trouve pas facilement à vendre ce qu'il en conserve au delà de sa consommation," i.e., "it is hard for the farmer to find a market for the hay he does not require for home consumption." After "buy the clothes" add "au store," i.e., "at the store." "Two shillings"—"deux schellings demi," i.e., "2s. 6d." (half a dollar). "Few or no wolves, no rattlesnakes or noxious animals" is the correct translation.

Page 504. "import"—"apportent" "bring in." "here" "là," i.e., "there."

the maple-tree frequently grows a sort of knobs, or fungusses, of a very large size. If these excrescences be torn from the tree, and dried in the sun, they form an excellent tinder, which the Indians and Canadians use to light their pipes. Notwithstanding the great number of pines, no resin has yet been gathered. The culture of hemp and flax has been tried, but hitherto without success; the experiments, however, are continued.

The price of wheat is one dollar per bushel; last year the price was much lower; but it has risen from the general failure of the harvest. Fire-wood, delivered in the town, costs one dollar a cord; in winter it is conveyed thither in sledges from all the islands and banks of the river, which are covered with wood.

The river freezes over at the distance of twenty miles above Kingston.

The price of land is from two shillings and six-pence to one dollar per acre, if the twentieth part be cleared. This price rises in proportion [**505**] to the number of acres cleared of wood, though influenced by occasional circumstances. Two hundred acres, one hundred and fifty of which were cleared, were very lately sold for one thousand six hundred dollars. The expence for cutting down all the large trees on an acre, and inclosing it with a fence as rude as in the United States, amounts to eight dollars.

There is no regular market in Kingston; every one provides himself with fresh meat as well as he can, but frequently it cannot be had on any terms.

For this information I am chiefly indebted to Mr. STEWARD, curate in Kingston, who cultivates himself seventy acres, part of two thousand acres, which have been granted him as an American loyalist. He is a native of Harrisburg in Pennsylvania, and seems to have zealously embraced the royal cause in the American war. Fifteen hundred pounds sterling, which he had placed in the American funds, have been confiscated. Although he continues warmly attached to the British Monarch, yet he has become more moderate in his political principles; he has preserved some friends who espoused the cause of the Republic, among whom is Bishop White, of Philadelphia. Mr. Steward is a man of much general information, mild, open, affable, and universally [**506**] respected; he is very sanguine in his expectation that the price of land will rise, and that he shall then be enabled to portion out his numerous children. Without being a very skilful farmer, he is perfectly acquainted with the details of agriculture, so that I can place implicit confidence on his statements, the truth of which has also been confirmed by other husbandmen.

Page 505. "curate"—"ministre," i.e., "minister" (Rev. John Stuart, the Rector at Kingston). After "American funds" read "du chef de sa femme," i.e., "in right of his wife."

The number of farmers is very small about Kingston. By Mr. Steward's report, the agreement between the land-owner and farmer is generally made for their joint account, but not always faithfully performed. From his having been imposed upon in such agreements, he leased out last year four hundred and thirty acres, which are situated on the bay, and forty of which are cleared, for a yearly rent of one hundred and fifty bushels of grain; on condition that, if at the expiration of three years his tenant be desirous of acquiring the property of these lands, he must pay him one thousand dollars; in default whereof, he is bound to quit the land, and will consequently lose all the money and labour spent in clearing the ground.

The clergy of the Episcopal church are the only ministers in Upper Canada, who are paid by government. The members of other religious sects pay their pastors if they choose to have [**507**] any. In the district of Kingston are Baptists, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, and Quakers; but they possess no building devoted to religious worship. Some of the inhabitants of Kingston are American loyalists; but the majority is composed of Scots, English, Irish, Germans, and Dutchmen.

The emigration from the United States is not considerable; during the last three or four years it has been very insignificant indeed, but gains now, it is asserted, a more promising appearance. This intelligence, which we first received from people attached to the English government, has since been confirmed to us by a great many labourers. These new colonists emigrate most of them from the States of Connecticut, Vermont, and New Hampshire. The emigration from Canada to the United States is far less considerable.

If any dependence might be placed on the report of persons, who arrived four years ago from the River Mohawk, such families, as are suspected of an attachment to Great Britain, are, in the United States, looked upon rather with an evil eye; but perhaps they give out such reports, merely that they may meet with a better reception in the British possessions.

The inhabitants of the district of Kingston meddle still less with politics than the people of [**508**] Newark. No newspaper is printed in the town; that of Newark is the only one published in Upper Canada, which being a mere imperfect extract from the Quebec Gazette, is here taken in by no one. I know but of two persons who receive even the Quebec-paper. As to the interior of the country, no news penetrates into that quarter, a circumstance that excites there very little regret.

In this district are some schools, but they are few in number. The children are instructed in reading and writing, and pay each a dollar a month. One of the masters, superior to the rest in point of know-

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Page 506. "The number of farmers, etc.," "tenans," i.e., "tenant farmers." In the original the number of acres "leased out" by Mr. Stuart is given as 4,300—"Episcopal"—"Anglicane."

Page 507. "Baptists"—"Anabaptistes."

ledge, taught Latin; but he has left the school, without being succeeded by another instructor of the same learning.

There are yet but very few surgeons in this district; they, who assume this appellation, contrive to get well paid for their trouble. Excepting intermittent fevers, which are rather frequent in Kingston, the climate is very healthy. The houses, as has already been observed, are built of wood, for reasons which it is extremely difficult to discern. The town is seated on rocky ground; and not the smallest house can be built without the foundation being excavated in a rock, a sort of stone which affords the two-fold advantage of being easily cut, and of growing hard [**509**] when exposed to the air, without cracking in the frost. The inhabitants allow that, if bricklayers were procured even from Montreal (for there are none in this place), building with stone would be less expensive than with wood. They grant that, in addition to the greater solidity of such buildings, they would afford more warmth in winter, and more coolness in summer; but habit is here, as elsewhere, more powerful than reason. Carpenters' wages amount to sixteen shillings a day; labourers are equally scarce in Newark, and consequently as bad and as dear.

This district contains no paupers, and, of course, there exist no poor rates; the taxes are managed in the same manner as at Newark.

The roads at Kingston are much the same as at Newark; they are kept in good repair by ten days' labour, from which none of the inhabitants are excepted, all being obliged to work ten days at the roads. Labouring people complain, and not without reason, that this public burthen has not been assessed in a manner more proportionate to the means of the inhabitants; and calculate, with some degree of discontent, that their ten days' labour is tantamount to a tax of twelve dollars and upwards; for they must also find their own victuals when they work on the roads.

There is but one church in Kingston, and this, [**510**] though very lately built, resembles a barn more than a church,

We had a letter from General Simcoe to the Commanding Officer in Kingston, who, at our arrival, was Captain PARR, of the sixtieth regiment. Six hours after the detachment, commanded by that gentleman, was relieved by another of the same regiment, under the orders of Major DOBSON. This circumstance, however, did not prevent Captain Parr from giving us the most obliging proofs of civility and kindness. He is the son of the aged Governor of Nova Scotia. At first he seems cold, grave, and reserved; but his countenance brightens on a nearer acquaintance, and grows more open, gay, and cheerful; he soon

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Page 509. "Bricklayers"—"maçons," i.e., "masons."—"labourers . . . Newark"—"Les domestiques soul aussi rares, au moins qu'à Newarck, par conséquent aussi chers et aussi Mauvais" "domestics are at least as scarce as at Newark and consequently as dear and as bad" "Ten days"—"douze journées," i.e., "twelve days."

Page 510. "the aged Governor"—"l'ancien gouverneur," i.e., "the former Governor."

fell into an easy familiarity of conversation, which was heightened during our dinner. His behaviour was entirely free from ceremony, and indicated that he was not displeased with our society.

This dinner, which he gave to the newly arrived officers, forms for us a remarkable epocha. The ingenuity of the English in devising toasts, which are to be honoured with bumpers, is well known. To decline joining in such a toast would be deemed uncivil; and, although it might be more adviseable to submit to this charge, than to contract a sickness, yet such energy of character [**511**] is seldom displayed on these occasions. Unwilling to oppose the general will, which becomes more imperious in proportion as heads grow warmer, you resort to slight deceptions in the quantity you drink, in hopes thus to avert the impending catastrophe. But this time none of us, whether French or English, had carried the deception far enough, and I was concerned to feel, the remainder of the evening, that I had taken too lively a part in the event of the two detachments relieving each other.

The sixtieth regiment, to which they belong, is the only regiment in the English service, excepting the guards, which consists of four battalions. This regiment, which at the time of the war of 1757 was composed only of two battalions, was raised in America, and as many foreigners as Englishmen were enlisted. It was afterwards augmented to four battalions, and was considered, as in fact it is still in many respects, as a foreign regiment. The first two battalions have never yet left America; the two others have been stationed in Jersey, Guernsey, and the Antilles. General AMHERST is colonel of this regiment*. In point of duty, promotion, and command, the [**512**] four battalions are perfectly independent of each other.

The officers we have seen are well bred and extremely polite. *

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Page 510. "epocha"—"epoque."

Page 511. After "As many foreigners as Englishmen were enlisted" add—"les officiers ont pu être choisis de même," i.e., "the officers were chosen in the same proportion." After "Antilles" read "et ce n'est que dernièrement et avec peine qu'ils ont été reçus en Angleterre," i.e., "And it is only recently and with difficulty that they have been received in England."

*On the death of Lord Amherst, His Royal Highness the Duke of York was appointed Colonel of the sixtieth regiment.—*Translator.*

Page 512. The starred part reads "Nous nous croyons en droit de penser que tous sont bien loin d'être ce qu'on appelle *aristocrates*. Beaucoup d'eux désapprouvent la guerre actuelle, ainsi que la dernière guerre d'Amerique, et montrent des sentiments de liberté et de politique qui me sembient être justes, libéraux et honnêtes; mais que certes ne sont pas ceux que professent M. Pitt et son parti. On nous dit que ce genre d'esprit est très-répandu dans l'armée. Comme nous ne sommes pas en situation de pousser fort loin ce genre de conversation, nous n'en avons pas su tout ce que nous aurions peut-être pu en apprendre. Au reste, aucun de ces officiers ne sait un mot de la révolution française dont cependant chacun veut parler autant par obligeance mal entendue pour nous, que par curiosité et par amour-propre," i.e., "We believe that we have good ground to think that all are very far from being what are called *aristocrats*. Many of them disapprove of the existing war as well as of the recent American war, and

The general opinion, in regard to Canada, is, that this country proves, at present, very burthensome to England, and will be still more so in future; and that, of consequence, Great Britain would consult her true interest much better by declaring Canada an independent country, than by preserving it an English colony, at so enormous an expence. The Canadians, say they, will never be sincerely attached to England; so that, if, in time of war, a militia were raised, not half of them would take up arms against America, and none perhaps against France. The British government commits, therefore, in their opinion, a gross error, in expending such vast sums in attempting to improve and preserve a country, which, sooner or later, is sure to secede from Great Britain, and which, did it remain faithful to the mother country, could not be of real service to it for any length of time.

These gentlemen further assert, in direct contradiction to General Simcoe's opinion, that the majority of new settlers of Upper Canada, who emigrate from the United States, and who are [**513**] esteemed loyalists, would certainly assist those States, if they marched any troops into that country. I am not qualified to form a correct judgment on these opinions, which are perhaps mere effusions of the displeasure of officers, obliged to serve at so great a distance from Great Britain*; yet they appear to be not altogether destitute of foundation. But, however this may be, all the Canadians, we have seen, whether the inhabitants of the country or sailors, constantly expressed the utmost satisfaction on meeting with us Frenchmen of old France, and evinced a degree of respect and obligingness, to which we had long been unaccustomed. I cannot say much on the character of this people;

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exhibit sentiments of liberty and views of government which seem to me to be just, liberal and commendable, but which are certainly not those of Mr. Pitt and his party. We are informed that such sentiments prevail widely in the army. As we are not in a position to pursue very far that kind of conversation, we have not learned all we perhaps might have learned. None of these officers knows anything of the French Revolution; nevertheless, every one of them wants to speak of it as much from ill-conceived courtesy toward us as from curiosity and self-complacency."

After "the general opinion" read "parmi les officiers," i.e., "among the officers." After "to England" read "qu'ils laissent à chaque instant percer leur attachment pour la France, tout en convenant qu'ils sont mieux traités par le gouvernement anglais," i.e., "that constantly they allow to appear their attachment to France, even though they admit that they are better treated by the English government."

*Whether the political opinions of the officers of the sixtieth regiment, alluded to by the Duke, be correctly stated, must be left to these gentlemen to explain. But the supposition, that British officers, from a mere dislike to remote garrisons, should censure administration for not abandoning a colony, which in the author's opinion is "a bright jewel in the British crown"—"an important conquest," and the loss of which appears to him "a public calamity," is an effusion of Gallic petulance, which should not pass unnoticed.—*Translator.*

Page 513. After "sailors" add "et nous n'avons pas laissé que d'en voir en assez grand nombre," i.e., "and we have not failed to see a great many of them." "I cannot say much on the character of this people—"Je ne puis rien dire du caractère de ce peuple chez qui nous ne sommes pas encore," i.e., "I can say nothing of the character of the people whom we have

all who came under my observation were full of spirit, active, gay and merry.

The royal navy is not very formidable in this place; six vessels compose the whole naval force, two of which are small gun-boats, which we saw [**514.**] at Niagara, and which are stationed at York. Two small schooners of twelve guns, viz., the Onondago, in which we took our passage, and the Mohawk, which is just finished; a small yacht of eighty tons, mounting six guns, and lastly the Missasoga, of as many guns as the two schooners, which has lately been taken into dock to be repaired, form the rest of it. All these vessels are built of timber fresh cut down, and not seasoned, and for this reason last never longer than six or eight years. To preserve them even to this time requires a thorough repair; they must be heaved down and caulked, which costs at least from one thousand to one thousand two hundred guineas. The expence for building the largest of them amounts to four thousand guineas. This is an enormous price, and yet it is not so high as on Lake Erie, whither all sorts of naval stores must be sent from Kingston, and where the price of labour is still higher. The timbers of the Missasoga, which was built three years ago, are almost all rotten. It is so easy to make provision of ship-timber for many years to come, as this would require merely the felling of it, and that too at no great distance from the place where it is to be used, that it is difficult to account for this precaution not yet having been adopted. Two gun-boats, which are destined by Governor Simcoe to [**515**] serve only in time of war, are at present on the stocks; but the carpenters, who work at them, are but eight in number. The extent of the dilapidations and embezzlements, committed at so great a distance from the mother-country, may be easily conceived. In the course of last winter, a judicial enquiry into a charge of this nature was instituted at Kingston. The commissioner of the navy, and the principal ship-wright, it was asserted, had clearly colluded against the King's interest; but interest and protection are as powerful in the New World as in the Old:—for both the commissioner and ship-wright continue in their places.

Captain BOUCHETTE commands the naval force on Lake Ontario; and is at the head of all the marine establishments, yet without the

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not yet visited." After "merry" read "La dixième partie d'entr'eux ne sait pas un seul mot d'anglais, et se refuse à l'apprendre: leur figure est expressive, ouverte, bonne, et je les vois avec plus de plaisir que je n'ai vu aucun peuple depuis trois ans," i.e., "Not a tenth of them know a word of English and they refuse to learn it; their face is expressive, open, good-natured, and I looked on them with the greater pleasure as I had not seen any common people (peasantry) for three years."

Page 514. "Eighty"—"quarante," i.e., "forty." "Six or eight"—"cinq à six," i.e., "five or six."

Page 515. "dilapidations and" is an interpolation by the translator, who omits "on en fait le reproche aux commissaires de la marine," i.e., "the commissioners of the navy have been charged with them" (the malversations). "Bouchette"—"Bouchotte," a misprint often repeated.

least powers in money-matters. This gentleman possesses the confidence both of Lord Dorchester and Governor Simcoe; he is a Canadian by birth, but entered the British service, when Canada fell into the power of England. While Arnold and Montgomery were besieging Quebec, Lord Dorchester, disguised as a Canadian, stole on board his ship into that city, on which occasion he displayed much activity, intrepidity and courage. It was not at all a matter of surprise that Lord Dorchester should bear in mind this [**516**] eminent service. By all accounts, he is altogether incorruptible, and an officer, who treats his inferiors with great mildness and justice.

In regard to the pay of the royal marine force on Lake Ontario; a captain has ten shillings a day, a lieutenant six, and a second lieutenant three shillings and sixpence. The seamens' [sic] wages are eight dollars per month. The masters of merchantmen have twenty-five dollars, and the sailors from nine to ten dollars a month.

Commodore Bouchette is among those, who most strenuously oppose the project of removing to York the central point of the force on the lake; but his family reside at Kingston; and his lands are situated near that place. Such reasons are frequently of sufficient weight to determine political opinions.

The desertion among the troops is not so considerable from Kingston, as from the forts Oswego, St. John, Niagara, and Détroit; from all those posts, in short, which lie nearer to the United States. Yet, it is pretty prevalent in all the garrisons of British America. We were told by the officers, that the first two or three years after the arrival of the regiment from Europe, no soldier deserts, but that envy and habit soon corrupt their mind. The discipline appears to me more severe in the British service, than it [**517**] ever was in ours. The men are treated with less attention and kindness.

Several regiments employ the Indians to apprehend deserters. In addition to the eight dollars, which are allowed by government for every deserter, brought back to his regiment, the captains promise them eight dollars out of their private purse, and inspirit them by some glasses of rum. These Indians then enter the American territory, where they are acquainted with every foot-path, every track, which they pursue without ever losing their way, and frequently fall in with the deserter, whom they stop, bind and bring back. If the deserter, which is frequently the case, be attended by inhabitants of the United

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Page 515. "While Arnold, etc."—"c'est lui qui dans la moment où Arnold et Montgomery assiégeaient Québec, y a fait entrer sur son bateau, Lord Dorchester déguisé en Canadien," i.e., "it was he who when Arnold and Montgomery were besieging Quebec effected the entry into that city on his boat of Lord Dorchester, disguised as a Canadian." (After the word "stole," Smith has inserted "from").

Page 517. After "losing their way" add "dont tout autre qu'eux ne découvrirait pas la trace," i.e., "of which none but they could discover the trail." After "bring back" add "avant qu'il soit arrivé à la partie habitée des États," i.e., "before he gets to the settled part of the States."

States, the Indians make no attempt to stop him, but the English officers place sufficient confidence in the honesty of the Indians to suppose, that they will not suffer themselves to be bribed either by money or rum, which the deserters might offer.

The nearest regular Indian habitations are forty miles distant from Kingston, and belong to the Mohawks. About the same distance from the town are also some villages of the Missasogas, and wandering tribes of the same nation are constantly rambling about the banks of the lake, pass a few nights in one place and a few in another, cross the river on the confines of the [**518**] United States, and stop in the islands. Hunting and fishing are their only employments. They are the filthiest of all the Indians, I have hitherto seen, and have the most stupid appearance. They are said to live poorly, to be wicked and thievish, and men, women and children all given to drinking. The uncommon severity of the winter in this country occasions not the least alteration in their mode of living. In their small canoes they carry with them some rolls of the bark of soft birch*, which serve to cover the huts, built in form of a cone, wherein they sleep, and which are supported merely by some slight props, on which rest these portable walls, that at the top leave a passage for the smoke.

In the month of September the Indians bring wild rice to Kingston, which grows on the borders of the lake, especially on the American side. This plant, which loves marshy ground, succeeds there remarkably well. The Indians bring yearly from four to five hundred pounds of this rice, which several inhabitants of Kingston purchase for their own consumption. This rice is of a smaller and darker grain than that, which comes from Carolina, Egypt, etc., but grows as white in the water, is of a good flavor, and affords full as [**519**] good nourishment, as the latter. The culture of rice would be very useful in Europe for the subsistence of the poor, especially as in those parts the frequent use of it would not prove injurious to health, which it certainly does in hot countries. *Wild rice* is said to be the same plant, which in Canada is called *wild oats* (folle avoine).*

The same banks of Lake Ontario, where this wild rice grows, produce also a species of hemp, which grows up to a considerable height without the least culture, and is apparently as useful as that, which is

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Page 517. "Missasogas"—"Missossogas."

*Betula lenta, Linn. called by the French inhabitants of Canada, mérisier.—*Translator.*

Page 518. "Soft birch"—du bouleau connu en botanique sous le nom de *betula lenta*" i.e., "birch known botanically as *betula lenta.*" After "the smoke" add "ce sont les mêmes dont ils font leurs pirogues," i.e., "this is the same bark of which they make their canoes." (Smith has transposed "wild rice" and "to Kingston").

*The Duke seems to be misinformed on this subject. The *Wild oat* (avena fatua) is a plant altogether different from *wild rice*, (oryza sylvestris, Linn)—*Translator.*

Page 519. "The culture of rice," "de ce riz," i.e., "of this rice." "Wild oats" is an interpolation by the translator.

cultivated in France. It is stronger, produces more seed, and its transplantation to Europe would probably be attended with beneficial results.

To beguile *ennui*, and enjoy a few hours longer the society of our friend, Captain Parr, we accompanied him to the distance of six miles from Kingston. His detachment occupied seven vessels, and he had one for himself. The soldiers were without exception as much intoxicated as I ever saw any in the French service. On the day of their departure they were scarcely able to row, which rendered our tour extremely tedious [**520**]. On our return, wind and current were against us, so that we proceeded very slowly. Canadians rowed our boat, and according to their custom ceased not a moment to sing. One of them sings a song, which the rest repeat, and all row to the tune. The songs are gay and merry, and frequently somewhat more; they are only interrupted by the laugh they occasion. The Canadians, on all their tours on the water, no sooner take hold of the oars, than they begin to sing, from which they never cease until they lay the oars down again. You fancy yourself removed into a province of France; and this illusion is sweet. Our whole day, from six o'clock in the morning until nine at night, was consumed in this tour. So much the better; a day is gone; for although the unwearied politeness of the officers afford us every day in Kingston a comfortable dinner and agreeable society from four to eight o'clock in the evening, yet we cannot but feel much *ennui* in a place, where no sort of amusement, no well-informed man, and no books shorten the long lingering day.

Our situation is extremely unpleasant, and might well render us melancholy, did we give up our mind to irksome reflection. Mr. Guillemard is gone to Montreal, with the Captain. He is perfectly right, for he would have shared in [**521**] our weariness, without giving us the least relief. He is a man of superior worth. The goodness of his heart, united with the charm of an enlightened mind, have long inspired me with the strongest attachment for him. His determination to leave us gave me, therefore, the utmost concern.

After a hearty breakfast, served up at a place somewhat remote from the troop, we took leave of Captain Parr. The place, where we breakfasted, belongs to Captain STORE, a native of Connecticut, captain in the militia of Upper Canada, a loyalist and proprietor of seven hundred acres of land, by virtue of a grant of the British government. He is owner of a saw-mill, which is situated on the creek of Guansignougua, and has two movements, one of which works fourteen saws, and the other only one. The former may be widened and narrowed;

Page 519. "six miles"—"six lieues," i.e., "six leagues." "as much intoxicated, etc."—"plus ivres, etc.," i.e., "more intoxicated, etc."

Page 520. "With the Captain" "avec le capitaine Parr," i.e., "with Captain Parr."

Page 521. "Store" is corrected in pencil by Smith to "Stone."

but frequently cannot work all at once, from the size of the logs and the thickness of the boards. We saw thirteen saws going; a log, fifteen feet in length, was cut into boards in thirty-seven minutes. The same power, which moves the saws, lifts also, as it does near the falls of Niagara, the logs on the jack. For the sawing of logs the Captain takes half the boards; the price of the latter is three shillings for one hundred feet, if one inch [**522**] in thickness, four shillings and sixpence, if one inch and a half, and five shillings, if two inches. The same boards, if only one inch thick, cost five shillings in Kingston. On the other side of the creek, facing Dutchmill (this is the name of Captain Store's mill), stands another mill, which belongs to Mr. JOHNSON, who uses half the water of the creek. We viewed the latter only at a distance from the shore; the whole prospect is wild, pleasing and romantic, and made me sincerely regret my unskilfulness in drawing. The land is here as good as at Kingston.

Although a communication by land is opened between Montreal and Kingston, and though half the road is very good, yet the intercourse between these places is mostly carried on by water. The rapidity of the stream does not prevent vessels from being worked up the river, and this tedious passage is preferred to that by land, even for the troops. All the provisions, with which Canada is supplied from Europe, are transported in the same way; and the whole correspondence is carried on by this conveyance, but in a manner extremely irregular; at times eight days elapse even in summer, without any vessel going up or coming down the lake.

During our long residence in Upper Canada we had an opportunity of seeing a Canadian family [**523**] who were emigrating to the Illinois River. The husband had examined the settlement last year, and was now removing thither with his whole family, consisting of his wife and four children, all embarked in a boat made of bark, fifteen feet in length by three in width. While the parents were rowing at the head and stern, the children, excepting the oldest, who was likewise rowing, were seated on mattresses or other effects; and thus they sang and pursued their voyage of at least one thousand one hundred miles. We met them at Newark. They proceed along the banks of the lakes and rivers, lie still every night, make a sort of tent of their sheets supported by two poles, dress their supper, eat it, wrap themselves up in their blankets until the morning, set off at eight o'clock, stop once

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Page 522. "Five shillings," add "et demi," i.e., "and sixpence." "Dutchmill"—"ce dutch-mill," i.e., "this Dutch mill." "Another mill"—"un autre moulin à scie," i.e., "another sawmill." "From a distance from the shore"—"du bord du capitaine Store," i.e., "from Captain Store's shore." "Going up or coming down the lake," omit "the lake." The translator here omits "en tout, ce pays est neuf pour toutes les ressources, et il n'est pas de ceux dont l'habitation m'aurait tenté de preférence," i.e., "this country is new in all respects and it is not such as would tempt me to choose it for a home."

a day to a meal, and then pursue their voyage again until the evening, They generally advance from fifteen to twenty miles a day, but, when bad weather comes on, or they meen with rapids or other obstructions, which force them to go by land, their progress is shorter, and they frequently rest a whole day. Having set out from Montreal, they came up Lake Ontario; thence they pass Lake Erie, go up the Miami River, travel about six or seven miles by land, and then reach the Theakiki River, which empties itself into the Illinois, or embark on [**524**] the Wabash*, which communicates by several branches with the Illinois, and thus proceed to the spot where they intend to settle. New colonists commonly form their settlements on the banks of that river, and chiefly consist of French Canadians.

There is another way from Montreal to the Illinois, which is said to be more frequented than the former; namely, up the Ottawas River or Great River † to Nipissing Lake, and thence by the French River to Lake Huron. On this way you meet with thirty-six places where the boats are to be carried over land, which, however, are very short. From Lake Huron you proceed by the Straits of Michillimakkinak to Green Bay, thence by the Crocodile River, Roe Lake, and River Saxe, after a short passage over land to Ouisconsing River, which empties itself into the Mississippi, which you descend as far as the Illinois, and thence go up this river. The way, just pointed out, is much longer than the other, but is generally preferred, especially by the agents of the [**525**] fur-trade. On returning to the westward, this is the same way, which you travel from Montreal as far as the Straits of Michillimakkinak, which you leave on the left, to reach Lake Superiour, on which you proceed to the great carrying place, thence to the Lake of the Woods, and so on.

The settlement on the Illinois is a large *depôt* for the fur-trade; nay, it is the last principal factory in that direction, the chief magazine of which is at Fort Michillimakkinak; but the agents travel one hundred miles farther and traffic even with the Indians of Louisiana.

Page 523. "Theakiki River"—"Theahikiriver." (The Kankakee River.)

*This beautiful river of the north-west territory is peculiarly celebrated on account of a copper mine on its northern bank, which is the richest vein of native copper that has hitherto been discovered.—*Translator.*

†The Duke seems misinformed as to the appellation of the Great River, by which the Miami is meant in America, not the Ottawas.—*Translator.*

Page 524. "Great River" — "la grande rivière." "Nipissing" — "Nipissin." "French River"—"la rivière des Français (French mom's river)," a misprint for "Frenchmen's River." "From Lake Huron, etc." "Du lac Huron on entre dans le lac Michigan par le détroit de Michilimackinack, en suite dans la green bay, du fond de laquelle on passe dans la rivière du Crocodile, puis par le lac du riz (rice lake), et par la rivière Saxe, on parvient après un court portage à la rivière Ouisconsin, etc.," i.e., "From Lake Huron, Lake Michigan is reached by the Strait of Michilimacinac, then Green Bay, from the head of which you enter the Crocodile River, then by Rice Lake and the River Saxe and a short portage, the River Wisconsin is reached."

Page 525. "Michillimakkinak"—"Michilimakinack."

This traffic is chiefly carried on with rum, but also with guns, gun-powder, balls, blankets, small coral collars, small silver buckles, bracelets, and ear-rings, which are all worn by the Indians in proportion as they are more or less rich.

The common standard, by which the Indians estimate the value of their peltry, is the beaver-skin; so many cat-skins are worth one beaver-skin; buckles, guns, or a certain quantity of rum, are worth one or two beaver-skins, or perhaps only a part of one. The traders generally give the Indians in summer a part of the articles they want on credit; but the skins they take in exchange are sold at so low a price, and the provision they sell rated so high, that they can well afford to give credit, the more so as the Indians [**526**] are, in general, pretty punctual in fulfilling their engagements. These Indians hunt, live in families rather than in tribes, and are, by all accounts, distinguished by the same vices, the same qualities, and the same manners, as those we have had an opportunity of observing in the vicinity of the lakes.

The trade in these parts is carried on not by the Hudson's Bay Company, but by two or three houses in Montréal, especially by Mr. TODE, to whom I am indebted for the communication of these particulars. The Missouri River alone has hitherto been shut up against foreign traders by the Spaniards, who have there a fort. Besides the Canadian habitations, which stand along the banks of the Illinois either scattered or assembled in villages and towns, the Illinois Town contains about three thousand inhabitants. There are also some Canadians, who reside among the Indians, and live exactly as they do. All these settlements are in the north-west territory, belonging to the United States; for that part of the banks of the Missouri, which appertains to Spain, is not inhabited, excepting St. Louis and St. Genevieve, for eighty miles from New Orleans, and but very thinly peopled beyond this.

Such peltry as is exported in the course of trade is conveyed to Montreal by the same way which [**527**] the traders travel to these points. The mouth of the Mississippi, which by the new treaty with Spain has been ceded to the Americans*, and the friendly manner in which the Spanish Governor favours this branch of commerce, pro-

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Page 525. "coral collars"—"colliers de porcelaine." "cat-skins"—"de peaux de rats, des chats, etc.," i.e., "(musk) rat and (wild) cat skins, etc." After "one beaver-skin" read "une peau de loutre en vaut deux," i.e., "an otter-skin is worth two beaver-skins."

Page 526. "For that part of the banks of the Missouri, etc."—"car les bords espagnols, à Saint Louis et Sainte Géneviéve près, ne sont habités qu'à quatre vingt milles de la nouvelle Orléans et le sont peu jusq'ici," i.e., "for the Spanish shores almost to St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve are inhabited only to eighty miles from New Orleans, and, so far, only sparsely."

Page 527. "The mouth of the Mississippi . . . ceded to the Americans . . ."—"L'ouverture du Mississippi accordée aux Américains . ." i.e., "The free navigation of the Mississippi granted to the Americans, etc."

*By the treaty of 1796, between the United States and Spain, the former obtained the free navigation of the Mississippi, but not the cession of the mouth or rather mouths of the river.—*Translator.*

cure their trade a more expeditious and less expensive outlet, so that in this way the expense has been lessened one-tenth. By the same way furs can be transmitted either to the United States or to any part of Europe, as the merchant chooses, while all peltry, which reaches Montreal, by the English laws can be sent only to Great Britain. The provision to be exchanged for these articles may also be bought in the cheapest markets, and, consequently, at a much lower rate than in Montreal, where the exorbitant duty on all merchandize, landed in Canada, and which, moreover, Great Britain alone has a right to import, raises their price in an enormous degree.

The furs in the whole of this country are of an inferior quality, if compared with the peltry of those parts which are situated north of the lakes, where the Hudson's Bay Company alone carries on this trade. By Mr. Tode's account you may [**528**] travel in an easy manner, from Montreal to the Illinois in fifteen days, and from the Illinois to New Orleans in twenty. The navigation of the Mississippi is good, but requires great prudence and attention, on account of the rapidity of the stream, and the great number of trunks of trees with which its bed is filled in several places. The whole country, through which it flows, is extremely fertile and delightful.

On Wednesday the 22d of July arrived the long-expected answer from Lord Dorchester. It was of a nature to strike us with amazement—a solemn prohibition, drawn up in the usual form, against coming to Lower Canada. It was impossible to expect anything of that kind. Mr. Hammond, the English Minister to the United States, had invited us himself to visit Canada, and removed the difficulties, which, from the report of other Englishmen, I apprehended on the part of the Governor-general, by assuring me, that Lord Dorchester had requested him to take it for the future entirely upon himself, to grant passports for Lower Canada, as he knew better than the Governor-general the travellers who came from the United States: and that the letters which he should give me would, without previously concerting with Lord Dorchester, secure me from all unpleasant incidents. I could [**529**] not, therefore, entertain the least apprehension of a refusal, as I had not the smallest reason to suppose that Mr. Hammond, who had loaded me with civilities, would have deceived me on this subject.

But his Excellency had been pleased to order his Secretary to send me an order of banishment, which he had not even taken the trouble to sign. They told me, by way of consolation, that his Excellency was rather weak of intellect, that he did not do any thing himself, &c.:

Page 527. "Provision"—"denrées," i.e., "wares" (The translator consistently gives "provision" or "provisions" for "denrées," although the English word seldom expresses the meaning of the French "denrées" in this work).

Page 528. "And delightful" is an interpolation.

Page 529. "An order of banishment"—"*un ordre d'exclusion*," i.e., "an exclusion order," i.e., a prohibition against entering Lower Canada.

that some emigrated French priest might have played me this trick by his influence over his Lordship's secretary or his mistress;—and well may this be the case; for, though Heaven be thanked! I have never injured any one, yet I find constantly people in my way, who endeavour to injure me. But, be this as it may, a resolution must be taken, and the best of any is, to laugh at the disappointment. May it be the only, or at least the most serious frustration of my hopes, which yet awaits me.

On my arrival in Canada, *my Grace* was over-whelmed with honours, attended by officers, complimented and reverenced, wherever I made my appearance; and now—banished from the same country like a miscreant!

"Et je n'ai mérité
"Ni cet excès d'honneur ni cette indignité."

[**530**.] On such occasions, as in many other situations in life, we ought to call to mind, that our own sentiments and feelings can alone honour or degrade us, and that conscious rectitude exalts us above all villains, great and low, above all fools, and all tattlers.

My eagerness to quit the English possessions as soon as possible, after the receipt of this letter, will be easily conceived; though, upon the whole, I cannot too often repeat, that the civilities shown us by the English officers at Kingston, as well as Niagara, deserve our warmest praise.

Major DOBSON being sensible of the necessity of our leaving Canada with the utmost speed, assisted us with true and sincere politeness, but for which we should not have been able to attain our end as soon as we wished; for, generally, no vessel sails from Kingston to the American coast except twice a year. He lent us his own barge, on board of which we embarked, four hours after the receipt of the Secretary's letter, for the United States, where no commandant, no governor, no minister, enjoys the right of offending honest men with impunity.

We shaped our course for Oswego, where we hoped to meet with an opportunity of a speedy passage for Albany. The four soldiers, who composed our crew, were intoxicated to such a degree, [**531**] that the first day we scarcely made fifteen miles, though we sailed twelve of them. Mr. Lemoine, the officer who commanded them, made them pay dear for the delay of the preceding day, by obliging them to row this day at least fifty-five miles. We left, at four o'clock in the morning, the long island where we passed the night. A heavy fall of rain had wetted us through to the skin; the wind had destroyed the slight covering we had made of branches of trees; the musquitoes had nearly devoured us: in short, we had scarcely enjoyed a moment's rest.

Page 530. "tattlers"—"barbouilleurs," i.e., "poor writers or talkers, etc." "With impunity" is an interpolation by the translator.

Page 531. "This day"—"le lendemain," i.e., "on the morrow."

But the weather cleared up; the morning grew fine; and we soon forgot the sufferings of the preceding night.

We reached Oswego at half-past eight in the evening, having scarcely stopped an hour in the whole course of the day. This passage is seldom effected in less than two days; but instead of coasting along the shore, we stretched from the place where we breakfasted straight over to Oswego, without approaching the land; an undertaking, which, but for the fairness of the weather, might have proved extremely hazardous.

Previous to our departure, we enjoyed the satisfaction of hearing the report of Admiral Hotham's second victory in the Mediterranean, and of the capture and destruction of four French ships [**532**] with fifteen thousand land-troops on board, destined for Corsica, contradicted by an officer, who arrived from Quebec. This action had been so frequently alleged to us, as a proof of the immense superiority of the English ships over the French, that we felt extremely happy on finding the whole report vanish like a dream.

The restoration of tranquillity and order in our country depends, at this time, more than ever on the successes of the French.—May they be as complete as I wish. Good God, what would have become of us, if Great Britain and her allies should prove victorious! I am free—Heaven be thanked!—from the rage against the English nation, which possesses so many Frenchmen, and cannot be justified by the still fiercer rage of some Englishmen against the French. The English are a gallant and great nation; I wish they might be sincerely allied with France— * * * * * * * * *

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Page 531. "Hotham"—"Hotam."

Page 532. The starred passage reads "mais croire que le ministère Anglais a jamais eu en vue de rétablir l'ordre en France, ou même de travailler au rétablissement de la monarchie, c'est donner dans une stupide erreur; il a voulu la ruine de la France, et voilà toutes ses vues. L'argent anglais a provoqué tous nos premiers malheurs; l'Angleterre eût pu arrêter le commencement de la guerre du continent; elle eût pu sauver les jours du roi; son ministère n'en a rien fait; il a vu son intérêt dans le supplice de ce prince; il a voulu se venger de l'Amérique perdue, jetter (sic) le trouble en France, l'y entretenir, y rendre les crimes plus nombreux, afin de réunir contre elle plus d'ennemis, enfin la démembrer. Cette politique est aussi mal calculée, aussi peu prévoyante, aussi dangereuse pour la tranquillité même de l'Angleterre, qu'elle est immorale et cruelle. M. Pitt a protégé les Français auxquels il a cru le plus de dispositions à se prêter à ses vues de conquête; c'est à ce titre qu'il les a secourus, soudoyés, enrégimentés, et en cela il s'est encore trompé; car j'ai peine à croire que malgré la passion de l'esprit de parti, beaucoup de Français se fussent prêtés à enrichir l'Angleterre des dépouilles de la France. On verra ce qu'il fera d'eux à la paix; ces instrumens de l'ambition, de la vengeance et de l'ineptie du ministère anglais seront brisés dès qu'ils seront inutiles. En attendant, il les fait tuer à Quiberon, il y fait égorger les officiers de notre précieux corps de la marine, de peur que la marine française ne se rétablisse; il abuse de l'honneur égaré de ces braves gens pour les envoyer

Oswego is one of the posts, which Great Britain has hitherto retained, in open violation of the treaty of peace, though she will be obliged to deliver it up to the United States, in the course of next year. It is a miserable fort, which, in the year 1782, was built at a considerable expense by General HALDIMAN, at [**533**] that time Governor of Canada. The river Oswego, at the mouth of which the fort is seated, is at present almost the only course for American vessels to Lake Ontario. The fort is in a ruinous state; one single bastion, out of five, which form the whole of the fortifications, is kept in better repair than the rest, and might serve as a citadel, to defend for some time the other works, indefensible by any other means. The present garrison consists of two officers and thirty men, under whose protection a custom-house officer searches all the vessels, which sail up or down the river. It is not lawful to import any other article from the United States into Canada, but grain, flour, cattle, and provision, and no commodities are suffered to be exported to the United States, without express permission from the Governor of Upper Canada; nay, this prohibition extends even to persons, who, if they intended to proceed to that country without such permission, would be imprisoned. As to the prohibited exports in merchandize, they are confiscated, without excep-

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à une boucherie certaine, sans espoir de succès, sans plan concerté, sans moyens. Ceux-là ont-ils tant de tort qui croient qu'il y avait complicité entre Robespierre et le cabinet de *Saint James*," i.e., "but to believe that the English Ministry ever had it in view to re-establish order in France, or even to endeavour to restore the monarchy, is to fall into a foolish error; it desired the ruin of France—that was its whole design. English money provoked all our first misfortunes. England might have arrested the outbreak of the continental war, she might have saved the life of the king—the English Ministry did not; it saw its interest advanced by the sufferings of that prince, it wished to be avenged for the loss of America, to inject disturbance into France, to foment it, to render the crimes more numerous, so that more enemies might be united against her—in fine, to dismember her. That policy is as ill-conceived, as little farseeing, as dangerous to the tranquility of England herself as it is immoral and cruel. Mr. Pitt has protected Frenchmen in whom he believed he found inclination to lend themselves to his schemes of conquest—it is for that reason he has helped them, paid them, enrolled them as soldiers—and in that he is still under a deception; for, notwithstanding the passion of party spirit, I can hardly believe that many Frenchmen could lend themselves to enriching England with the spoils of France. It will be seen what he will do for them on the return of peace; these instruments of the ambition, the revenge and the folly of the English Ministry will be thrown aside—broken tools—as soon as they are useless. In the meantime, it had them slain at Quibèron; it had our precious marine corps slaughtered at that place for fear the French navy might be re-established; it took advantage of the reckless courage of these brave men to send them to certain butchery without hope of success, without concerted plan, without supplies. Are those, then, so far wrong who believe that there was a conspiracy between Robespierre and the Court of St. James?"

"Haldiman"—"Haldimann"; generally written "Haldimand."

Page 533. "No commodities"—"provision," "what will serve for food." "without exception" add "à moins qu'elles ne soient accompagnées d'un passe-port special," i.e., "unless they are accompanied by a special permit."

tion, for the benefit of the customhouse-officer, by whom they are seized. This naturally prompts his zeal, and increases his attention; but there are so many points along the coast, where the contraband trade can be carried on, that it will hardly be attempted in this place, where **[534]** the Americans are sure to encounter so many difficulties and obstructions. Yet some vessels, now and then, slip out, under favour of the night. Two or three, which failed in the attempt, were last year taken and condemned. The large income of the receiver of customs, placed here three years ago, has hitherto been confined to these perquisites. Americans, who from an ignorance of the severity and latitude with which English prohibitions are enforced, have a larger quantity of provision on board, than the rigour of the English law permits, frequently see the surplus confiscated to the augmentation of the customs, which, if extracted by less delicate hands than those of the present receiver, might be carried to a much larger amount.

This officer is called Intendant-general: a fine title, which ornaments a station, that, in fact, knows no superiors, but has also no inferiors, excepting a director, who resides at Niagara. The Intendant-general has not even a secretary. His pay is ten shillings a day, and a ration, which he estimated at two. He receives his pay all the year round, though the navigation of the lake is entirely interrupted for five months, and he himself is seven months absent from Oswego. Decorated with such a title, and furnished with such an income, he will hardly be supposed to transact **[535]** himself the trifling business of his place. This is entrusted to a non-commissioned officer, who makes his report. This is signed by the Intendant-general, who, in case of absence from the fort, leaves blanks signed on his table. This *permit,* which authorizes all vessels bound for Canada, to proceed thither, must also be signed by the commanding officer, for which every vessel pays three-fourths of a dollar. For sailing up the lake a verbal *permit* is given *gratis.*

The present Intendant-general is an interesting young man, of the name of Mac-Donald, who, in addition to his talents and abilities, possesses all the peculiar merits, for which his family has long been distinguished in Canada. They came from Scotland, and settled here about twenty years ago. Mr. Mac-Donald served as an officer in the American war. He is now on half-pay; his brothers hold commissions in a Canadian regiment, lately raised, and one of them is Speaker of the house of representatives of Upper Canada.

A man of Mr. Mac-Donald's extraction, in France, would injure his character, in the public opinion by accepting a place in the customs. In England they know better. There, no injurious idea attaches to any profession, which concurs in the execution of the laws; and no blame attaches to a nobleman for holding a place in the com-

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Page 534. "Last year"—"il y a deux ans," i.e., "two years ago."
Page 535. "Mac-Donald"—"Mac-Donnall" (several times). "nobleman"—**"le gentlemen," a misprint for "le gentleman."**

[536] mission of the customs, or turning merchant. He is, on the contrary, respected as much as if he belonged to the church, the army, or the navy, or were placed in any other honourable situation. Yet, if public opinion were altogether founded on just and reasonable principles, it should stigmatize all persons, who hold sinecures without any useful employment, and press consequently as dead burthens on the state. This, however, is not the case in England.

The number of vessels which ascend and descend the Oswego during the seven months, the navigation is open, amounts to about thirty a month. By Mr. Mac-Donald's account by far the greater number of them contain new settlers to Upper Canada, at which I am not astonished, it being a certain fact, that the emigration from the United States to Canada is far more considerable, than from the latter to the former country.

Fort Oswego is the only settlement on the banks of the lake between Kingston and Niagara, excepting Great Sodus, where Captain Williamson forms one, and which bids fair, as has already been observed, to become very prosperous; it is thirty miles distant from the fort. Twelve miles behind Oswego, stands, on the river, the first American settlement. This fort must therefore [537] shift for itself. The officers hunt, read, and drink; and the privates do duty, are displeased with their situation and desert. For this reason the oldest soldiers are selected for the garrison of Oswego; and yet, though less open to temptation, they desert to the United States. This fort, which lies too remote for any communication with foreign countries, is for five months together completely cut off from the rest of the world; the snow lying then so deep, that it is impossible to go abroad but in snow-shoes. A surgeon, who has seven shillings and sixpence a day, augments the company in Oswego. The gentleman, who fills this place at present, contributes much to heighten the pleasure of the society, by submitting to be the general butt of railleries and jests.

The nearest Indian habitations are forty miles distant from Oswego: and yet there is an Indian interpreter appointed at this fort, who has three shillings and sixpence a day and a ration. He was employed during the last war. In other places his appointment might carry at least some appearance of utility; but here he is paid without having any employment. The commanding officer has five shillings a day in addition to the pay he enjoys by virtue of his commission; he keeps oxen, cows, sheep, fowls, etc., which, as a [538] permanent stock one commanding officer leaves to his successor at a settled price.

The gardens are numerous, and beautiful, in the vicinity of the fort; the lake as well as the river abounds with fish; the chace pro-

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Page 536. "Great Sodus"—"le grand Sodus."

Page 537. "Are displeased with their situation"—"s'ennuie," i.e., "are bored"; "to the United States" is an interpolation.

cures plenty of game. The officers, therefore, live well in this wilderness, which they call Botany Bay, and yet wish to wrest from the Americans. We experienced from all of them a very kind reception.

The land in the neighbourhood of Oswego is very indifferent; the trees are of a middling growth, and the wood-lands have a poor appearance.

As fate would not permit me to see Lower Canada, I shall here throw together some particulars, I had collected respecting that country. I counted on certifying and arranging them on the spot; and although I have not been able to do this, yet they shall not be lost, either to myself or my friends.

The people of Canada possess the French national character; they are active, brave, and industrious; they undergo the severest toils, endure hardships with fortitude, and console and comfort themselves with smoaking, laughing, and singing; they are pleased with every thing, and [**539**] checked and dispirited by nothing, neither by the length, or excessive fatigue of a journey, nor by the bad quality of their food, if their spirits be kept up by pleasantries and jests. They are employed in all voyages. At the beginning of spring they are called together from the different districts of both provinces, either for the King's service, or that of trade. The people, employed in this manner, reside about Montreal, and some miles lower down, as far as Quebec. Several of them live in Montreal, where they carry on a trade, which occupies them in winter. Their own inclination and taste invite them to this active and roving mode of life. Some of them are farmers, who leave the housing of the harvest to their wives and neighbours; others are artizans, who shut up their shops and depart. We met some of them, who were tanners, saddlers, butchers, joiners, &c., and who by all accounts were very good workmen. They leave their country for a summer, for one year or more, according to the work, which they are called to perform: and sometimes only for a short voyage. In the King's service they are employed in working the ships from Montreal, or rather China, which is three miles nearer, up to Kingston. This passage, which is rendered extremely troublesome by the numerous *rapids* in the river [**540**] takes up nine days, more or less, the back passage only three days, and the lading and unlading at least one. For this voyage they receive two Louis d'ors and are found in victuals; if not employed in actual service, they receive no pay. They now begin to serve as sailors on board the shipping on the lake. Commodore Bouchette is much pleased with them. Their wages amount to nine dollars a month both on board the King's ships, and in merchantmen, engaged in the fur-trade.

Page 538. "Certifying"—"vérifier," i.e., "verifying."

Page 539. "From the different districts"—"des deux differens points," i.e., "from the two different points." "China"—"la Chine," i.e., "Lachine." "Which is three miles nearer"—"qui est à trois lieues plus près," i.e., "which is three leagues closer."

Page 540. "Nine dollars"—"huit dollars," i.e., "eight dollars."

Mr. Mackenzie was attended by several of them on his travels to the South Sea; he brings them back with him from a journey, which, it was supposed, would extend as far as the former, but which he intends to terminate at the last factory. By the account of the English themselves, who do not like them, they are the best rowers, extremely dexterous in extricating themselves from difficulties, inured to labour, and very sober, though at times they are apt to drink rum rather too freely. In this case their gaiety grows noisy, while the English in a similar situation frequently grow sad and melancholy.

There exist few people among whom crimes are less frequent, than among the Canadians; murders are never committed, and thefts very seldom; yet the people in general are ignorant [**541**.] But this defect is to be imputed less to the people, than the government, whose system is to cherish and preserve this ignorance. No colleges have yet been established in Canada; and the schools are very few in number. Hence it is that the education even of the richest Canadians is much neglected; but few of them write with any tolerable correctness of spelling, and a still smaller number possess any knowledge, though some of them hold seats in the Legislative Council of the province. I must, however, mention, that I have received this information from Englishmen, whose accounts of the Canadians deserve but little credit, from the most prominent feature of their national character consisting in a warm attachment to France, which on every occasion they display more or less, according to the class of society, to which they belong, and to the extent of their wishes and expectations, relative to the British Government.

I have already observed, that all the families in Canada have retained the French manners and customs; that but very few Canadians, perhaps not one in a hundred, understand the English tongue; that they will not learn it, and that none of those, who understand that language, will talk it, except those, who from the nature of [**542**] their employment have a constant intercourse with the military.

The British government has, since the conquest, from a silly affectation, changed the names of the towns, islands, rivers, nay of the smallest creeks. But the Canadians make no use of these new appellations, but either from affectation or habit retain the ancient French names.

Many members of the Assembly, as well as of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada, are French inhabitants of Canada; the debates are carried on there in the French and English languages; the speech of the French member is immediately translated into English, and of the English into French.

Page 541. "Hold seats in the Legislative Council"—"employés dans la législature."

The inveterate hatred of the English against the French, which is at once so ridiculous, so absurd, and so humiliating for the people, insomuch as it proves them to be mere tools of the ambition of their ministry—this hatred, which the lights, diffused through both countries, and the frequent intercourse between the two nations, had nearly destroyed in Europe, before the French revolution broke out, has not abated here in the same degree. No Canadian has just grounds of complaint against the British government; the inhabitants of Canada acknowledge unanimously [**543**] that they are better treated than under the ancient French government; but they love the French, forget them not, long after them, hope for their arrival, will always love them, and betray these feelings too frequently and in too frank a manner, not to incur the displeasure of the English, who even in Europe have not made an equal progress with us in discarding the absurd prejudices of one people against another.

When Lord Dorchester, at the appearance of a war with the United States, tried last year to embody the militia in Canada, he met everywhere with remonstrances against this measure. A great number of Canadians refused to enlist at all; others declared openly, "that if they were to act against the Americans, they would certainly march in defence of their country, but that against the French they should not march, because they would not fight against their brethren." These declarations and professions, communicated to me by English officers, and of consequence unquestionably true, were not the effects of Jacobin intrigues; for, it is asserted, that at that very period the emissaries of the Convention complained of the character of the Canadians being averse to an insurrection; but they are the natural results of their attachment to France, which neither time, nor the mildness of the English [**544**] administration has hitherto been able to extirpate. The notions of liberty and independence are, from their political situation, foreign to their minds. They pay no taxes, live well, at an easy rate, and in plenty; within the compass of their comprehension they cannot wish for any other good. They are so little acquainted with the principles of liberty, that it has cost a great deal of trouble to establish juries in their country; they oppose the introduction of the trial by juries, and in civil causes these are not yet in use. But they love France; this beloved country engages still their affection. In their estimation a Frenchman is a being far superior to an Englishman. The French are the first nation on earth; because, attacked by all Europe, they have repulsed and defeated all Europe. The Canadians consider themselves as Frenchmen; they call themselves so; France is their native land. These senti-

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Page 542. "of the English against the French"—"des Anglais et des Français," i.e., "of the English and French for each other." "the people"—"les peuples," i.e., "both peoples." "ministry"—"ministères," i.e., "ministries."

Page 544. After "Englishman" read "qui est son ennemi," i.e., "who is their enemy." "Native land"—"patrie."

ments and feelings cannot but be highly valued by a Frenchman, who must love and respect the good people of Canada. But, it will be easily conceived, that they displease the English, who frequently display their ill-humour, especially the spirited and impatient British officers, by despising and abusing the Canadians. "The French," they say, "beat them, starved them, and put them into irons; they should therefore be treated [**545**] by us in the same manner." Such are the opinions on this amiable and liberal-minded people, which you hear delivered during an English repast; several times have I heard them with indignation. People of more prudence and reserve, it is true, do not profess these sentiments in the same rash and public manner; but they entertain them, and the people of Canada know full well, that such are, in regard to them, the sentiments of the generality of the Englishmen.

Lower Canada, which pays no more taxes than Upper Canada, has of late been obliged to raise a yearly contribution of five thousand pounds sterling, to meet the public expense for the administration of justice, legislature, and other *items* in this province. This contribution or impost is laid on wine, brandy, and other articles of luxury; it is raised as an excise, and consequently is an indirect tax, but little burthensome from its amount, as well as from the mode in which it is raised; and yet it has excited much discontent and displeasure against the representatives, who sanctioned it by their consent.

This is an outline of the sentiments, which prevail among the people of Canada, and which I should have more closely examined, had I been permitted to visit Lower Canada. I have been assured that Lord Dorchester, in consequence of [**546**] the refusal of the Canadians, to be embodied in regiments, desired last year to return to england. Whether this be the true motive of his desire to resign, which is a certain fact, I know not. His displeasure may also, perhaps, have been excited by the marked disapprobation of the English ministry, respecting his address to the Indian nation. However this may be, his resignation has not been accepted. Lord Dorchester, from his constant good and kind demeanour to the Canadians, imagined he was beloved by that nation; his administration has throughout been marked with mildness and justice; he has supported the new constitution; he loves the Canadians, but his self-love as well as patriotism and national pride have been much humbled by the sentiments, displayed last year by the people of Canada.

I have already mentioned a conversation, in the course of which several officers delivered it as their opinion, that it would be for the interest of Great Britain to give up Canada. This is the general opinion of all Englishmen, who reside in this country, excepting such as on account of their stations and emoluments hold a different language. They, who share in the government and administration of Canada, the English merchants and families, who have long resided here, are far from

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Page 545. After "to visit Lower Canada" add "Quant à leur vérité, je n'en ai et n'en puis avoir aucun doute," i.e., "as to their truth, I have and can have no doubt."

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possessing these principles, from a conviction [**547**] that in the process of time Great Britain will reap considerable benefits from the possession of Canada. These are not the ideas which I entertain on this subject, considering either the extent or the nature and complexion of the English administration and government in this part of the globe. I conceive that the enormous expence, incurred by Great Britain, is absolutely unnecessary, and that the state of independence, in which she endeavours to keep Canada, does not afford the greatest and most permanent advantage she might derive from that country.

What would be said of a ministry, which would attempt to convince England, that the proceeds of her trade and extensive navigation to Canada fall much short of her yearly expence to maintain herself in the possession of that colony, and propose to the British cabinet, to declare it independent, to assist it with subsidies the first years, and immediately to conclude with the Canadian government a treaty of amity and commerce? Such a ministry would undoubtedly be considered as a set of rank Jacobins. And yet it is highly probable, that Great Britain, while on the one hand she saved a considerable expenditure, would on the other lose none of her commercial advantages, form a permanent and extensive connection with Canada; and would spare herself [**548**] the humiliation of another colony being dismembered from the British empire. But such a resolution should be embraced without any secret views, and hidden projects, loyally and frankly; so that Canada, enjoying all the blessings of liberty and prosperity, might have no just grounds for any sinistrous apprehensions. However absurd this language may appear, it is perhaps precisely that, which all European powers should, at this time, hold to their continental colonies; nay, with some modification, I think it should even be addressed to the West-Indian Islands. But away with political speculations!

The Roman Catholic priests in Upper Canada are of the same cast as our former country curates; their whole stock of knowledge being confined to reading and writing, they are of course unenlightened and superstitious. The French revolution has brought thither some of a superior character, who are probably less indolent and more tolerant than the former. I am unacquainted with them, but the British officers are so astonished at seeing French priests possessed of some sense and knowledge, that, in their opinion, they are *very clever*.

The only branch of commerce belonging to Canada is the fur trade; with the whole extent and annual amount of which I had some hopes

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Page 547. "Independence"—"dépendence," i.e., "dependence." (Smith has made the correction by scoring out the prefix "in"). "ministry"—"ministre," i.e., "minister." "To the British cabinet" is an interpolation. "Canadian government"—"le," i.e., "it" "Such a ministry . . . rank Jacobins"—"on le traiterait de Jacobin," i.e., "he would be considered a Jacobin."

Page 548. "So that Canada . . . sinistrous apprehensions"—an interpolation. "West Indian Islands"—"les Antilles," i.e., "the Antilles." "Upper Canada"—"Canada," i.e., Lower Canada. "*Very clever*"—"(*very clevers*) très-éclairés."

of [**549**] getting acquainted during my intended residence at Montreal. I know from Governor Simcoe, that it is far more insignificant, than is generally believed, and that a considerable contraband trade in this article is already carried on in the United States, the chief agents of which are Canadian merchants. I know also, that this contraband trade, which they encourage on the river St. Lawrence, may likewise be carried on, without their assistance, with the United States, on Lake Erie, as well as on several points of the banks of Lake Ontario; and that the surrender of this fort to the United States, and the subsequent American settlements on the frontiers, will render it altogether impossible, to prevent this contraband trade. Besides, it is well known, that the Canadian merchants, who send the peltry to England, are the absolute masters of this trade in this country, and that a monopoly, which raises the price of commodities to an exorbitant height, is the most powerful incitement to smuggling.

All the ships, in which the trade between Canada and Europe is carried on, are English bottoms; none of them belong to merchants of the country. These possess but a few vessels, which are built at Quebec, and employed in the inland trade. In no parts of British America are any ships built, but such as navigate the lakes; even [**550**] at Halifax, ships are not built, but merely caulked and refitted. No ships but English bottoms are suffered to sail from Canada for Europe; whence it is, that, if this navigation be intercepted or protracted, the utmost scarcity of European provision prevails in that country. This year, for instance, all the magazines and warehouses in Canada were empty, on account of the ships, which generally arrive about the 15th of May, not having yet come in on the 20th of July. Since the 1st of July, not a bottle of wine, or a yard of cloth, could be procured for money, either in Quebec or Montreal. The officers, who came from these towns, and had not been able to supply their wants, complained of the absolute impossibility of procuring any necessary article in Canada; and, I understand, the discontent, which prevails on this subject, is not confined to the military.

It is agreed, on all hands, that the Canadians are indifferent husbandmen, that agriculture is imperfectly understood in this colony, and that, in this respect, the English have not transplanted hither either their own agricultural improvements, or any branch of European skill. The land is good, upon the whole; the best, which is in the island of Montreal, is worth from twenty to twenty-four dollars an acre. From the circumstance, [**551**] which is certain, the wealth of the country may be partly estimated.

Page 549. "this fort"—"des forts," i.e., "forts." "this trade"—"du commerce," i.e., "trade." "employed in the inland trade"—"encore sont-ils peu employés au commerce d'Europe," i.e., "they are so far little employed in trade with Europe."

Page 550. "The officers," add "du soixantiéme régiment," i.e., "of the 60th regiment." "Branch of" is an interpolation. "Halifax"—"Hallifax," as always.

The severe frost, which in winter generally prevails in Quebec, causes the mortar to crack, and every year occasions expensive repairs at the citadel, which never last long. The other strong places in British America are constructed of wood, which is never seasoned, but used as soon as felled, and consequently decays very soon. In the whole fort of Oswego, which was built about eleven years ago, there is not one sound piece of timber to be found; and for the same reason the citadel of Halifax, which was constructed only seven years ago, is now rebuilding from the ground. This is all the information, which I have been able to collect, and which, however imperfect it be, may yet serve as a guide to other travellers in their pursuits of useful knowledge.

The northern borders of the bason, which holds the waters of the Niagara, just above the falls, consist of a fat and strong reddish earth, lying on a ground of lime-stone.

The rocks, between which the stupendous cataract of Niagara rushes down, are also lime-stone, as are numerous fragments of rocks, which appear within the chasm, and have undoubtedly been swept away by the tremendous torrent. At the bottom of the bason you see also large masses [**552**] of white stone, of a fine grain, which the inhabitants assert to be the petrified foam of the fall, but which, in fact, appears to consist of vitriolated lime. It does not effervesce with acids. I have tried no other experiments.

The ground between the falls and Queen's Town is a level tract, some hundred feet elevated above the plain, which joins Lake Ontario, and in which the town of Newark, and the fort of Niagara are situated.

This whole tract seems to consist of lime and free stone, which contain petrifactions of sea animals.

Over the plain near Newark are scattered large masses of a reddish granite, which lie insulated on the lime-stone, like the large blocks of granite, which you see on Mount Saleve, near Geneva; so that it is impossible to account for this origin.

In the environs of Toranto, or York, the soil is in some places sandy, in others light clay; no rocks are here to be found.

In Kingston, or Kadaraque, on the north-easterly extremity of Lake Ontario, you find again the argillaceous fine grained lime-stone, of a dark grey colour. Here, as nearly all along the borders of the lake, are found different sorts of flints, schist, quartz, and granite.

You also find at Kingston, at no great distance [**553**] from the shore, a large black conglomeration, which has the appearance of basalt, and great quantities of free-stone, with petrifications of sea animals.

Page 552. "Vitriolated lime"—"sulfat de chaux," i.e., "calcium sulphate." "Queen's Town"—"Queenstown."

After "experiments," add "with it." "Some hundred"—"quelques cents," i.e., "several hundred.' "Insulated"—"isolées," i.e., "isolated." "Kadaraque"—"Kataraqui."

Page 553. "large black conglomeration" "de grosses pierres noire, roulées" "large black stones, rounded" (i.e., boulders). "petrifactions" —"des impressions."

The trees and plants, I have met with in Upper Canada, are nearly the same, which I observed in the northern district of Genessee. Yet I found the buck-eye, called by the Canadians *bois chicot,* the five-leaved ivy, which I have seen branched thirty feet high around an oak tree, the red cedar, the small Canadian cherry (ragou minier), and black or sweet birch. I have seen neither a papaw nor a cucumber tree. The ginseng root, which is pretty common in the territory of the United States, abounds in Canada, but forms here not so considerable an article of trade, as in the former country. The Canadians use an infusion of this root as a cure for pains in the stomach, especially if they proceed from debility; for colds, and, in short, in all cases where perspiration may be required. They also make use of the leaves of maidenhair*, which is found in great abundance in the vicinity of Kingston, instead of tea.

[**554.**] Mr. Guillemard having communicated to me the journal of his tour to Lower Canada, I shall extract from it such particulars, as appear most proper to fill up the deficiencies of the information, which I have myself been able to collect. This journal confirms, upon the whole, the general observations, which I made on that country. Although the intelligence, gathered by Mr. Guillemard, be not altogether as minute as I could have wished, yet from the correctness of his judgment, and his character for veracity, the truth of his remarks cannot be questioned.

The passage from Kingston to Quebec is made as far as China, in Canadian vessels of about ten or fifteen tons burthen. The navigation from China to Montreal being intercepted by the falls of St. Louis, this part must be travelled by land. Ships of any burthen may sail from Montreal to Quebec.

The rapids are of various descriptions. They are either whirlpools, occasioned by rocks, against which the water strikes in its course, or strong declinations of the bed of the river, the rapid motion of which is checked by few or no obstructions. Carried by rapids of this nature, ships may advance sixteen miles in an hour. Those of the former description are the most [**555**] dangerous, though misfortunes but seldom occur. They are most frequent on the cedar passage.

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*Adianthum capillus veneris, Linn. a plant, from which the once celebrated "*syrop de capillaire*" took its name, which P. Formius, a physician of Montpellier, recommended as an universal medicine, in his treatise "De Adiantho," published 1634.—*Translator.*

Page 553. "Buck-eye"—"bonduc." "Five-leaved ivy"—"ecoomanthus ou bourreau des arbres." "Ragou minier"—"ragoumimex." "Papaw"—"frangier." "Cucumber tree"—"magnolia." "Maiden hair."—"capillaire." (See additional notes.)

Page 554. "China"—"la Chine," i.e., "Lachine."

Page 555. "misfortunes"—"accidens," i.e., "accidents." "The cedar passage"—"le passage des *cèdres*," i.e., "the Cedars."

From Montreal to Quebec the river flows with great velocity, but without any rapids. In Lake St. Peter* ships must keep within a natural canal, from twenty to fifteen feet in depth; in other places the lake is only from four to six feet deep. It is under contemplation to make a canal from China to Montreal, by which the interruption of the water conveyance from China to Montreal will be removed.

There are few or no settlements between Kingston and St. John's, the chief place of the lower district of Upper Canada, about midway between Kingston and Montreal‡. Between this place and Montreal they are rather more numerous, yet still few in number.

The right banks, belonging to England, are more thinly inhabited than the left. The few habitations you here meet with lie, almost all of [**556**] them, contiguous to the river. Between Montreal and Quebec they stand more closely together. Even the inland parts are inhabited within three or four miles of the shore; and so are almost all the borders of the rivers and brooks which fall into the stream. To judge from the habitations and the mode of cultivation, these settlements are the worst of any you meet with in the United States; on the right side of the river the plantations do not extend to so great a distance into the interior of the country.

The soil is generally good, especially in the islands. It bears a variety of fine trees and excellent grass. The land in the island of Montreal is esteemed the best; while in other inhabited parts the price of the land is at most five dollars per acre, it costs in the island of Montreal from twenty to twenty-five. There are estates in the vicinity of Quebec either somewhat better cultivated than the rest, or furnished with a good dwelling-house and out-buildings, the lands belonging to which bear a still higher price. Upon the whole there is but little land sold, either from the poverty of the inhabitants, or the difficulties attending a sale, for reasons which I shall detail in another place.

Agriculture is as bad in Lower Canada as it possibly can be. In the vicinity of Quebec and [**557**] Montreal no manure is known

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*This lake is a part of St. Lawrence river. Its centre is sixty-eight miles above Quebec, and two hundred and five north-east of Kingston, at the mouth of Lake Ontario,—*Translator.*

‡St. John's belongs not to the lower district of Upper Canada, but to Lower Canada. By an ordinance of the 7th of July, 1796, it has been established as the sole port of entry and clearance for all goods imported from the interior of the United States into Canada.—*Translator.*

Page 555. "twenty"—"12."

"St. John's"—"Johnstown." The translator has confused Johnstown (Cornwall) in Upper Canada and St. John's in Lower Canada. "The right banks belonging . ."—"Le côté droit qui appartient aussi à l'Angleterre . . ." i.e., "the right bank also belonging, etc."

Page 556. "the worst . . . United States"—"de l'espece des plus mauvais dans les pays nouveau des Etats-unis." "like the worst in the new settlements of the United States."

but stable dung, and even this the farmers used not long ago to throw into the river. What is here called cultivated land is, even on the banks of the river, neither more nor less than ground merely cleared in tracts of about forty or fifty acres, and enclosed with rough fences. In the midst of these tracts are small plots of cultivated ground sown with wheat, Indian corn, rye, pease, and clover; they very seldom take up the whole space enclosed. The farmers are a frugal set of people, but ignorant and lazy. In order to succeed in enlarging and improving agriculture in this province, the English government must proceed with great prudence and perseverance. For, in addition to the unhappy prejudices which the inhabitants of Canada entertain in common with the farmers of all other countries, they also foster a strong mistrust against every thing which they receive from the English: and this mistrust is grounded on the idea, that the English are their conquerors, and the French their brethren.

There are some exceptions from this bad agricultural system, but they are few. The best cultivators are always landholders arrived from England. Mr. Touzy, an English clergyman in Quebec, who arrived very lately from Suffolk, in England, is now occupied in clearing and cultivating [**558**] in the English manner from seven to eight thousand acres, which he holds from government, or at least a part of this grant. Should he be gifted with sufficient perseverance to succeed, he cannot fail to become extremely useful to this part of the globe. In the mean while, it is a matter of general astonishment in Quebec, that he should form any such establishments at so great a distance from the town, and yet this distance exceeds not fifteen miles.

On the road from Montreal to Quebec the dwelling-houses are some of them built with small stones, and others with wood plastered over with lime, which abounds in the country; the inside of such of these buildings, as are inhabited by Canadians, is miserable and filthy. In most of them, which stand along the road, and where of consequence the death of the King of France is known, you find his portrait, the print which represents him taking leave of his family, his execution, and his last will. All these prints are something venerable to the Canadians, without impairing their attachment to the French.

Montreal and Quebec resemble two provincial towns in France; the former stands in a pleasant and delightful situation; the latter is seated half on the bank of the river and half on the adjoining rock. The lower

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Pages 556 and 557. The sentences beginning "In the vicinity, etc.," read "On n'emploie de fumier que dans les environs de Québec et de Montreal, encore n'est ce que le fumier d'écurie qu'il n'y a pas long tems les fermiers jettaient dans la rivière pour s'en débarrasser." i.e., "Only in the vicinity of Quebec and Montreal is manure used—and that but stable manure which until recently the farmers threw into the river to get rid of it."

Page 557. "Unhappy"—is an interpolation. "Touzy"—"Fouzé."

Page 558. "plastered over with lime"—"blanchies extérieurement avec de la chaux," i.e., "whitewashed." "and where of consequence"—"et où," i.e., "and where."

part of the town is inhabited [**559**] by the merchant's and trade's-people, and the upper part by the military. From its position, encircled as it is with the mountains, and from the works constructed to encrease its actual strength, Quebec belong to the fortresses of the second or third rank.

The military, it seems, enjoy in this city, on account of the presence of the Governor-general, and of the great number of officers and other persons attached to the army, the same distinction in society, which the merchants possess at Montreal.

The Canadian gentry, who reside in towns, are much poorer than the English, invited hither either by considerable pay, attached to their places, or some other valuable income. They live in general by themselves; and as they spend less than the English, the latter are apt to call them avaricious and proud; and the former fail not to return the compliment in a different manner. The English merchants are rich and hospitable.

In point of furniture, meals, &c., the English fashions and manners prevail, even in some of the most opulent Canadian families connected with administration. In other Canadian families of distinction the French customs have been preserved.

The export and import trade of Canada employs [**560**] about thirty vessels, and is merely carried on with and through England. From an extract of the custom-house books for 1786, procured by Mr. Guillemard, the exports in that year appear to have amounted to three hundred and twenty-five thousand one hundred and sixteen pounds, Halifax currency, and the imports to two hundred and forty-three thousand two hundred and sixty-two. Since that year not only large quantities of corn have been exported, but the trade has, upon the whole, been considerably encreased by the great agricultural improvements made in both provinces, but especially in Upper Canada.

The whole amount of a common harvest in Lower Canada is estimated at four thousand bushels, three fourths of which are consumed in the country. The principal *depôt* of the peltry trade is in Montreal.

I shall at the end of this article subjoin some satisfactory information respecting this trade, extracted from a journal, the veracity of which is unquestionable.

The navigation of the River St. Lawrence is shut up by frost seven months of the year.

An iron-work on the *Trois Rivières*, and a distillery near Quebec, are the only manufactories in Canada, and both in a very low state. The

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Page 559. "gentry"—"gentlemen." "rich and hospitable" "riches et qu'ils appellent hospitaliers" "rich and what they call hospitable" (a nice distinction).

Page 560. "merely"—"seulement," "solely." "satisfactory"—"certains." "harvest," add "en bled," i.e., "of grain." "on the Trois Rivières" "aux Trois Rivières," i.e., "at Three Rivers." "in a very low state"—"sur une très-petite échelle," i.e., "on a very small scale."

[**561**] iron-work cannot even supply Lower Canada with the necessary articles; it belongs to merchants of Quebec and Montreal, who make no use of the machinery employed in England in manufactories of that description. The iron-ore is found in the neighboring rivers, and also in grains on the surface of the soil. It is very rich, and known by the name of St. Maurice ore. The work employs twenty workmen, all of them Canadians; they forge the iron into bars, manufacture tools for artisans, utensils, pots, &c., and earn three-quarters of a dollar a day, but are not boarded by the owners of the work.

In the distillery whisky and geneva are distilled, but very little of either. The number of workmen is very small; their daily wages consist in two shillings in money and board. The Canadians, like the inhabitants of the back country in the United States, manufacture themselves all the clothes they want for their families.

The Roman Catholic religion forms the established church in Lower Canada; the ministers are supported by tythes and gifts, and out of the estates acquired by the clergy. All the churches in the country belong to the Roman Catholic persuasion, and are tolerably well frequented by the people. The clergy of the Episcopal church are paid by the king; as well as the Protestant [**562**] bishop, who is at the same time bishop of Upper Canada. Divine service is performed by Protestants, in Roman Catholic churches or chapels, at Quebec, Montreal, and *Trois Rivières*. In the country there is no religious worship but according to the rights of the Roman Catholic religion.

A convent of *Urselines* in Quebec, and another in Montreal, and a society of Charitable Sisters, who attend the hospitals and lazarettoes, are the only nunneries of Lower Canada. The revenue of the hospitals consisted in part of annuities, paid by the city of Paris, the payment of which was stopped in pursuance of a decree of the French National Assembly; and this deficiency has not hitherto been made up in any other manner. Two Franciscans only, and one Jesuit, are remaining of the numerous convents of these orders which subsisted here at the time of the conquest of Canada. One of these Franciscans, it is asserted has, in violation of the treaty, taken the vow since that time, and the Jesuit is rather a priest who styles himself a Jesuit, than really a member of that religious community. By virtue of a grant of His Britannic Majesty, all the estates in Canada, which belong to the Jesuits, go to Lord Amherst at the decease of the last member of that community in

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Page 561. "very rich" "abondante et assez riche" "abundant and fairly rich." "whisky and geneva"—"du whiskey et un peu d'eau de genièvre," i.e., "whisky and a little gin." "estates acquired by the clergy"—"les biens acquis du clergé."

Page 562. after "Montreal," (where it first occurs on this page) add "Saurel," i.e., "Sorel." "Charitable Sisters"—"Sœurs de la charite," i.e., "Sisters of Charity." "lazarettoes"—"hotels-dieu." "Franciscans"—"récollets."

the province; and rumour [**563**] says, that the proceeds of these estates, enjoyed by the *soi-disant* monk, which amount to fifteen hundred a year, are the true cause of the enmity which subsists between Lord Amherst and Lord Dorchester.

The seminary in Quebec is kept by a sort of congregation or fraternity, known by the name of the Priests of St. Sulpice, who, prior to the conquest, possessed three such houses, namely, one in Siam, one in Pondicherry, and one in Quebec. Since that time the seminary supports itself by its own means. The estates which it possesses are considerable, at least in point of extent, and contain from fifty to sixty thousand acres; yet, as the seminary possesses not the right to dispose either of the whole or any part of them, and consequently cannot gain any advantage from these estates but by farming them out to tenants, who pay no more than about a bushel and a half of corn for every ninety or a hundred cultivated acres, the proceeds exceed not in the whole five hundred dollars per annum. The mill, which the seminary possesses in the Island of Montreal, is let for somewhat more.

Besides the lectures on theology, which are delivered in the seminary, Latin is also taught, and the scholars are even instructed in reading. This business is confided to young clergymen, who [**564**] pursue their studies to obtain the order of priesthood, and are excused from certain exercises, without which they would not be qualified to take orders, on account of their being engaged in the instruction of youth. This seminary forms the only resource for Canadian families, who wish to give their children any degree of education, and who may certainly obtain it there for ready money.

Upon the whole the work of education in Lower Canada is greatly neglected. At Sorrel, and *Trois Rivières,* are a few schools, kept by nuns, and in other places men or women instruct children. But the number of schools is, upon the whole, so very small, and the mode of instruction so defective, that a Canadian who can read is a sort of phenomenon. From the major part of these schools being governed by nuns and other women, the number of the latter, who can read, is, contrary to the custom of other countries, much greater in Canada than that of men.

The English government is charged with designedly keeping the people of Canada in ignorance; but were it sincerely desirous of producing an advantageous change in this respect, it would have as great obstacles to surmount on this head as in regard to agricultural improvements.

Page 563. "rumour says . . . Lord Dorchester" "on assure que l'inimitié du Lord Dorchester pour Lord Amherst est la véritable cause de la jouissiance laissée au faux moine usurpateur"—"it is stated as a fact that the enmity of Lord Dorchester toward Lord Amherst is the real cause of the usurping monk being permitted to enjoy these estates." "fifteen hundred," add "liv. sterlings," i.e., "pounds sterling."

Page 564. "Sorrel"—"Saurel," i.e., "Sorel."

[**565.**] The feudal rights continue in the same force in Canada as previously to the conquest. The proprietors, or lords of the manor, have alienated or alienate the lands on condition of an annual recognition being paid by the tenants, which amounts to a bushel or a bushel and half of grain.

At every change in respect to the occupiers of land, except in a case of a succession in direct lineage, the lord of the manor levies a fee of two per cent.; and, in case of sale, he not only receives a twelfth of the purchase money, but has also the right of redeeming the estate; he moreover enjoys the exclusive right of building mills, where all the people, who inhabit within the precincts of the manor, are obliged to have their corn ground.

The mills are so few in number, that frequently they are thirty-six miles distant from the farms. The miller's dues amount to a fourteenth, according to law; but the millers are as clever in Lower Canada as elsewhere, and contrive to raise them to a tenth. The bolting is performed by the farmers in their own houses. The mills are numerous in the vicinity of Quebec and Montreal, and belong to the seminary.

On lordships of the manor being sold, a fifth of the purchase-money goes to the crown; [**566**] these fees and charges, it will be easily conceived, greatly impede the sale of estates.

The administration of justice is exactly the same as in Upper Canada. In this respect Lower Canada is divided into three districts. The penal and commercial laws are the same as in England; but the civil law consists of the customs of Paris, modified by the constitutional act of Canada, and by subsequent acts of the legislative power. Nineteen twentieths of all property, amenable before the courts of justice, belong to merchants. Criminal offences are very seldom committed in Canada.

The five thousand pounds, which last year were voted for the expence of the legislature, &c., are raised by means of an excise on liquors.

The climate in Lower Canada is rather dry, and very cold in winter; the sky is, at all times, beautifully clear and serene. In the months of January and February Reaumur's thermometer stands generally at twenty degrees below the freezing point. In 1790 it fell quite below the scale, and the quicksilver retreated into the ball. In summer some days are excessively hot, and the thermometer stands at twenty-four degrees; this year it mounted to twenty-eight. The heat in summer, it has been observed, becomes more intense [**567**] and continues

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Page 566. "penal . . . laws"—"les loix criminelles," i.e., "the criminal laws." "the constitutional act of Canada"—"l'acte qui a formé la constitution du Canada"—"the Act which framed the constitution of Canada" (of course the Statute of 1791, 31 George III, cap. 31 is meant, not an Act of Canada). After "below the scale," add "qui est à quarante," i.e., "which is 40° below zero." (—58° Fahrenheit).

N.B.—The degrees of temperature are on Reaumur's scale, 24° R = 86° F; 28° R = 95° F; —20° R = —13° F.

longer, and in winter the cold grows more moderate than formerly. The climate is healthy; epidemical diseases are very rare; but, on account of the severe cold, cancerous sores in the face and hands are very frequent. The declination of the magnetic needle in Quebec is twelve degrees to the west.

There exists no incorporated municipality either at Montreal or Quebec. The police of these towns is managed by justices of the peace, who fix the price of provision, and direct every public measure relative to this subject. They also meet once a week for the administration of justice, and decide on petty offences.

As to charitable institutions, they consist in two hospitals, one at Montreal, the other at Quebec, and a lazaretto at the latter place. They are inconsiderable and badly managed, especially in regard to the abilities of the physicians who attend the sick.

Throughout all Canada there is no public library, except in Quebec, and this is small and consists mostly of French books. From the political sentiments of the trustees and directors of this library, it is a matter of astonishment, to find here the works of the French National Assembly. It is supported by voluntary contribution.

No literary society exists in Canada, and not [**568**] three men are known in the whole country to be engaged in scientific pursuits from love of the sciences. Excepting the Quebec almanack, not a single book is printed in Canada. Meteorological observations are made with peculiar care, but only for his own amusement, by Doctor KNOTT, physician to the army, and a man of extensive knowledge.

Provision is much cheaper in Lower Canada than in the United States; the price of beef is three or four *sous* a pound, mutton six, veal five, and salt pork from eight to twelve *sous*. A turkey costs from eighteen pence to two shillings, a fowl from six to eight *sous*, wheat from six to seven shillings a bushel, oats three, Indian corn from five to seven, salt one dollar a bushel, bread two *sous* a pound, and butter eight *sous* [money of Canada, reckoning the dollar at five shillings.] Day-labourers generally earn in summer two shillings and six-pence a day, women half that money; in winter the wages of the former are one shilling and three-pence a day, and the latter are paid in the same proportion as above. A

Page 567. "The police . . . is managed . . . "—"la police . . . est faite . . . ," i.e., "the administration of municipal affairs is in the hands of . . . ." "Provision"—"pain," i.e., "bread." "lazaretto"—"hotel-dieu."

Page 568. For "not a single book" read "hardly, etc." (Smith has made a note "North" opposite "Knott.") "Two shillings"—"deux schellings et demi," i.e., "two shillings and sixpence." The passage in parenthesis should follow "Salt, one dollar a bushel"—the French word translated bushel is not the usual "boisseau," but "minot"; the content is practically the same, as the French-Canadian "minot" is 36.34 litres. "Day labourers . . . two shillings and six pence . . . ," "deux schellings six sous," i.e., "two shillings and three pence." "Autrefois, le sou etait la cent vingtième partie de ce qui s'appélait ici la piastre française, monnaie qui valait six francs." Clapin "Dictionnaire Canadien—Français, etc., C. O. Beaucheuein & Fils, 256 rue Saint-Paul, Montreal." Sub voc "sou." p. 300. "in winter the wages . . . as above" "tout cela en été, l'hiver la

man-servant gets about five dollars a month. The rent for a good convenient house amounts in Quebec to one hundred and thirty dollars, and in Montreal to one hundred and fifty. The price of land has already been stated.

[**569.**] The markets, both of Montreal and Quebec, are but moderately supplied in comparison with the abundance in the markets of the large towns in the United States.

Mr. Guillemard in his journal assigns to the Canadians the same character, which I have above delineated. The first class, composed of proprietors, and people attached to the British government, detest the French Revolution in every point of view, and seem in this respect even to outdo the English ministry. The second class of Canadians, who form a sort of opposition against the proprietors and gentry, applaud the principles of the French Revolution, but abhor the crimes which it has occasioned, without their attachment to France being in the least impaired by these atrocities. The third, or last class love France and the French nation, without a thought of the French Revolution, of which they scarcely know anything at all.

Lord Dorchester bears the character of a worthy man, possessed of all the vanity of a darling of fortune. His Lady, who is much younger than her husband, and determined not to sacrifice any of the enjoyments which pride can afford, takes peculiar care to keep alive the vanity of her Lord. * * * * * * * * * *
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[**570.**] The settlements form, as already mentioned, a large strip of about seven or eight miles in breadth on both banks of the river. The whole unsettled country appertains to the Crown, which is ever ready to make any grants that may be demanded; but the formalities and reservations connected with them, deter many people from making application for land. All the new settlers come from New England.

On both sides of the road which leads from St. John's to Quebec, near Lake St. Peter, and in the vicinity of the towns of Montreal and Quebec, are some Indian villages. One of them is Loretto, five miles from the latter place. The Indians of Loretto have attained, it is as-

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moitié moins"—"these are the wages in summer, in winter they are a half less." "Convenient" is an interpolation.

Page 569. "proprietors"—"seigneurs." "darling of fortune"—"parvenu." The starred passage reads "Les prêtres sont en Canada, ce qu'ils sont presque par-tout; intrigans, bas, adorateurs et soutiens du pouveir arbitraire, parce qu'il peut donner au clergé et ètendre son influence et que, comme l'eglise, il ne permet ni réflexion ni raisonnement" "The priests are the same in Canada as almost everywhere, intriguing, despicable, worshippers and supporters of arbitrary power, because it is able to enrich the clergy and extend its influence, and because like the church it allows neither reflexion nor reasoning."

Page 570. "of about seven or eight miles"—"depuis un jusqu'à sept à huit milles," i.e., "from one to seven or eight miles." "All the new settlers" "le petit nombre de nouveaux settlers" "the small number of new settlers." "St. John's"—"Johnstown." "Loretto"—"Laurette."

serted, the last stage of civilization, at least in the point of corruptness of morals and manners. No other Indian village can, in this respect rival Loretto.*

These Indians, who on working-days dress like the Canadians, wear on feasts and Sundays their usual dress. They cultivate their fields in the same manner as the whites, live like them, and speak the same language; they are of the Roman [**571**] Catholic persuasion, and a curate resides in the village.

The settlements, which carry a more Indian appearance than this village, are farther distant, and not numerous. On descending the River St. Lawrence you meet with a more slaty soil, and in the vicinity of Thousand Islands with a range of rocks of granite. These isles apparently consist of granite of a reddish colour, well crystallized, and the chief component part of which is feldtspar. In Kadanoghqui, between Kingston and Thousand Islands, a species of steatite is found, considerable veins of which are said to be discovered in the neighbourhood. The reddish granite of Thousand Islands is interspersed with more perfect granite of a larger grain, which is very common in countries consisting of this sort of stone, such as the Alps, the Scotch Highlands, and others of less moment, but of the same description.

The rapidity, with which Mr. Guillemard descended the River St. Lawrence, prevented him from examining the species of stone of which its banks are formed. But at Montreal he had sufficient leisure to enquire into the mineralogy of the country. It consists, north of the River St. Lawrence, chiefly of lime-stone; in the south, where the little populous village La Prairie is [**572**] situated, you find, besides, a sort of chert, nothing very remarkable on this head.

The Island of St. Helena, a little below Montreal, consists of this stone. On the banks of the river large masses of granite, quartz, and pudding-stone are found, which seem disjoined from the beds to which they formerly belonged, and which cannot now be discovered. The soil on the mountains is rich and fertile, and full of quarries of lime-stone. Mines of pit-coal are said to have been discovered in these mountains.

The houses in Montreal are mostly built of lime-stone of a dark colour and very compact structure. It whitens in the fire, and assumes a greyish colour, when exposed to the air and sun.

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*Loretto, a small village of Christian Indians of the Huron Tribe, north-west of Quebec, has its name from a chapel built after the model of the Santa Casa at Loretto in Italy, whence an image of the Holy Virgin has been sent to the converts here, resembling that in the famous Italian sanctuary.—*Translator.*

Page 570. "their usual dress"—"leur habit original," i.e., "their national dress."

Page 571. "carry a more Indian appearance" "un peu plus réellement Indiens" "a little more truly Indian." "little populous" is an interpolation.

Page 572. "you find . . . head" "il n'y a guères que des puddings qui ressemblent beaucoup à cette espèce de roc *quartz cux*, connu en Angleterre sous le nom de chert"—"there are only a few" puddings "which closely resemble that form of quartz rock known in England as chert."

The river Sorrel, after having left the basin by Chamblee, flows along the foot of a broad and high range of mountains, called Beloeil. Between this river and the river St. Lawrence expands a vast plain, on which neither a rock nor stone is to be found. On digging up the ground you find to a considerable depth strata of different sorts of earth, sand, clay, vegetable earth, and in many places another kind of black vegetative earth, which bears a close resemblance to peat.

The summit of the mountain Beloeil consists of granite of a dark grey colour and a strong [**573**] grain. It contains little mica, but much schoerl. The declivity on both sides of the summit consists of slate of a very compact texture; some pieces resemble basalt in shape and grain.

On descending the Sorrel, you see not a single rock, and the banks of this river, which the English at present call William Henry, consist of a fine micaceous loam.

If you cross St. Peter's Lake on your way to the Trois Rivières, the ground rises in a striking manner in the form of terraces; but no rocks meet your view. The sandy banks of the Trois Rivières bespeak a poor soil, exhausted by cultivation, and deprived of the vegetable earth. Marl of a blueish colour has fortunately been discovered under the sand, which has much contributed to restore the fertility of the ground. This marl is of a fine gain, very compact and light; it lies above the level of the stream below the town of Trois Rivières.

A few miles thence, farther on in the country, are the only iron works in Canada; the ore is found in several places in the neighbourhood. It is bog-ore and said to yield very good iron.

Lime-stone is found as far as Quebec; its farther extent is not known. It is of various forms and qualities; in some places very hard and compact; in others in the state of calcareous spar. [**574.**] The colour passes, by imperfect shades, from reddish light brown to a dark blue, approaching to black.

South of the river St. Lawence, near the bason-falls, lime-stone is still found; but the ground consists chiefly of strata of a black, clayey slate, of a fine grain, interspersed with beds of lime-stone. The conglomerations, which form the banks of the river, are of the same nature

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Page 572. "Sorrel"—"Sorel." "Chamblee"—"Chambly" "nor stone"—"presqu'aucune pierre," i.e., "hardly a stone." "vegetative"—"végétale," i.e., "vegetable." "strong grain"—"à gros grains," i.e., "with large grains."

Page 573. "Schoerl"—"schorl noir," i.e., "black schorl" (black tourmaline). "slate"—"d'un schiste gris noir, et très-compact," i.e., "schist, black-gray and very compact." "Fine micaceous loam"—"Friec micaceous loam," the first word a misprint. "Above the level of the stream"—"à la surface de la terre," i.e., "on the surface of the earth."

Page 574. "approaching to black"—"et même noir," i.e., "and even black." "bason falls"—"la chute de chaudière," i.e., "the Chaudiere Falls." "still found," read "again found." After "lime-stone" (where first occurring on this page) add "Il y a dans ces lits beaucoup d'une matière rouge, tendre, argilleuse," i.e., "In these beds (of limestone) is to be found much of a red, friable, clayey substance."

as the adjoining strata, intermixed with different sorts of schoerl and granite, which must have been washed to this spot from more elevated parts of the country.

The rock, on which stands the citadel of Quebec, is called the Diamond-rock, on account of several of its fissures and cavities containing spars, which by ignorant people are esteemed precious stones. This rock consists chiefly of strata of limestone, which is in general very compact, and a dark-grey colour.

Over the plain lying farther up the country, called Abram's plain, lime-stone and large masses of granite are scattered, which are peculiarly remarkable on account of the great quantity of schoerl they contain. Near the river you find various sorts of pebbles, free-stone, granite, quartz, with some slate and lime-stone.

In Wolfslove the strata of stone consist of a [**575**] black slate, forming an obtuse angle with the horizon. In the vicinity of Quebec most of these layers have a more perpendicular direction towards the surface of the earth, than in more western countries. The high mountains north-east of Quebec are said to consist of granite. Mr. Guillemard has not seen them; near the falls of Montmorency and somewhat farther up, the strata consist of lime-stone, and their direction runs nearly parallel with the horizon.

Accounts of the Fur-trade, extracted from the journal of Count Andriani, of Milan, who travelled in the interior parts of America in the year 1791.

The most important places for the fur-trade are the following, viz.:—

Niagara, Lake Ontario, Détroit, Lake Erie, Michillimakkinak, Lake Huron, yielding 1,200 bundles mixed peltry.

Michipicoton	40	bundles fine peltry.
Pic	30	ditto.
Alampicon	24	ditto.
Near the great carrying-place or portage	1400	ditto.
Bottom of the lake	20	ditto.
[**576**] Point of the lake	20	ditto.
Bay of Guivaranun	15	ditto.

Page 574. "spars"—"des crystaux de quarz," i.e., "quartz-crystals." "Lying farther up the country"—"audessus," i.e., "above." "Abram's plain"—"la plaine d'Abraham." "In Wolfslove"—"A Wolfslove," misprint for "Wolf's Cove."

Page 575. "More Western countries"—"les pays plus à l'ouest," i.e., "the parts further west." "Near the great carrying-place or portage"—"Grand portage." "Bottom of the lake"—"Fond du lac."

Page 576. "Point of the lake"—"La Pointe." "Guivaranum"—"Guloavanan."

The skins of beavers, otters, martens, and wild cats, are called fine peltry.

Mixed peltry are furs, consisting of a mixture of the finer sorts with a larger number of skins of wolves, foxes, buffaloes, deers, bears.

The finest peltry is collected north-west of the lakes in the British dominions; the furs grow coarser in proportion as you approach nearer the lakes.

This fur-trade is carried on by a company, known by the name of the *North-west Company*, and two or three other small companies.

The north-west company, which is generally esteemed a privileged company, has no charter; for the preponderance, which it enjoys in this trade, it is merely indebted to the large capital, which it employs in the trade, to the unanimity of the members, to their unwearied exertion, and to the monopoly, which the company has appropriated to itself in consequence of the above circumstances.

Its formation took place in the year 1782, and originated from the commercial operations of some eminent merchants, who used to carry on the trade in the country, situated beyond Lake [**577**] Winnipey, and especially Messrs. FORBISHER and MACTARISH, who reside at Montreal. The signal success, which this company met with, soon excited the jealousy of other merchants, and ere long three different companies made their appearance at the great carrying-place, and rivalled each other in the purchase of furs with a degree of emulation, which could not but prove highly detrimental to themselves and advantageous to the Indians. The north-west company, being more opulent than the rest, made use of its wealth to ruin its competitors; no stone was left unturned; the agents of the company's rivals were bribed and seduced; and the animosity between the different traders rose to such a height, that they frequently proceeded to blows. This petty warfare, which cost several lives and large sums of money, at length opened the eyes of the rival companies. They became sensible of the necessity of uniting in one body, and the north-west company, essentially interested in preventing any further molestation of this trade, made several sacrifices, to attain this end. They formed a connection with different members of the other companies, admitted other merchants to a share in their trade and thus secured their extensive commerce with the country situated [**578**] north-west of the lakes, the only spot where fine peltry can be had in abundance.

Several thousands of Indians formerly conveyed their furs to the great carrying-place. But at present the company send their agents a thousand miles into the interior parts of the Indian possessions. It

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Page 576. After "bears," add "etc." "Charter"—"privilege." "Commercial operations"—i.e., réunion," i.e., "union."

Page 577. "Mactarish"—"Mactavish." (This mistake is made several times later as well as here and above.) "Great carrying-place"—"Grand portage."

frequently happens, that these agents continue there two years, before they return with the peltry, they have purchased, to the great carrying place.

The company employ about two thousand men in carrying on this traffic in the interior of the Indian country, which is, however, so extremely barren, that whatever articles these agents stand in need of either for their clothing or subsistence, must be sent thither from Montreal with considerable difficulties and trouble, and, of consequence, at an excessive price.

Near the great carrying-place, where all these agents meet, and which is the central point of this trade, stands a fort, which is kept in good repair, and garrisoned with fifty men.

The post of Michillimakkinak is the rallying point of the different Canadian merchants, who do not belong to the north-west company. Their agents traffic only with such parts, as are seated west and south-west of the lakes, and where the [**579**] furs are of an inferior quality. They carry on this trade in the same manner as the north-west company, but as these small companies are less opulent than the former, their agents penetrate not so far into the interior of the country, as those of the north-west company.

The agents set out from Montreal in the month of June, and are six weeks going to the fort near the great carrying-place. They embark at Montreal in boats, forming parties of eight or ten persons, proceed on the river St. Lawrence from China to the Lake of the Two Mountains; descend the river Utacoha; cross Lake Nipissing; pass by the French River into Lake Huron; proceed to Fort Michillimakkinak; and thence to the great carrying-place.

This way is shorter by a hundred miles than by the lakes, but you meet with thirty-six carrying places, several of which lie across rocks, over which the boats as well as the cargoes must be carried on the backs of the passengers, and that with great precaution, on account of the narrowness of the roads. The boats are but of four tons burthen; they are navigated by nine men, cost twenty-eight Louis d'or each, and serve but for one voyage.

The ships employed in the passage across the lakes, are from one hundred and twenty to one [**580**] hundred and thirty tons burthen. Flat bottomed vessels of fifteen tons are also made use of for this purpose, which are easily managed by four or five men, and are very durable.

Page 579. "Agents set out, etc."—"expéditions." "Six weeks," prefix "about." After "great carrying place" (i.e., Grand Portage), add "Il faut quelques jours de moins pour arriver à celui de Michilimackinack," i.e., "It takes a few days less to get to Michilimacinac." "Eight or ten persons," "persons" is an interpolation, the reference is to the number of canoes (boats) not of voyageurs. "China"—"la Chine," i.e., "Lachine." "descend"—"remontant," i.e., "ascend." "Cross Lake Nipissing"—"par elle au lac Nipissin," i.e., "by this (viz., the river Ottawa or Utawa, misprinted Utacoha) to Lake Nipissing."

Notwithstanding the advantages, offered by this passage, the former route is preferred for the fur-trade, because, although it is attended with much trouble, yet it admits of the day of departure as well as the arrival being fixed with certainty and exactness, which point, on account of the wind, cannot be attained on passing over the lakes, and yet is of the utmost importance for the Canada merchants, as they must neither miss the period of receiving the furs from the interior of the Indian territory, nor that of expediting them for Europe; the navigation of the river St. Lawrence not being open for a long time.

About the end of June the agents of the company, sent into the interior to trade with the Indians, cause the articles purchased to be transported to their place of rendezvous.

At this time upwards of one thousand men are frequently assembled in Michillimakkinak, who either arrive from Canada to receive the peltry, or are agents of the company and Indians, who assist the former in conveying thither the furs they have bought.

[**581.**] As the trade of the north-west company is far more important, than that of the other traders, the number of people, assembled in the fort near the great carrying-place is of consequence far more considerable at the time of the delivery of the skins; in this place there is frequently a concourse of one thousand people and upwards.

The method, observed by the agents in their traffic with the Indians, is this, that they begin with intoxicating them with rum, to over-reach them with more facility in the intended business. The agents carry on this traffic in those villages only, where there are no other merchants.

It is a circumstance, worthy of notice, that an ancient French law, enacted at the time, when Canada belonged to France, prohibits any rum to be sold to the Indians by the agents on pain of the galleys. Hence originates the custom, still observed at this day, of giving it away; yet this is not done without exception, for many agents sell their rum.

The one thousand four hundred bundles of fine peltry, from the great carrying-place, which according to the price, paid to the petty traders in Montreal, who collect them in small numbers, are valued at forty pounds sterling each, and which by the company are sent to London, fetch there eighty-eight thousand pounds sterling. They form [**582**] about a moiety of all the fine peltry, yearly exported from Canada, without taking into the account the furs sent from Labrador, from the Bay of Chaleurs and Gaspe or Gachepe.

For these one thousand four hundred bundles the north-west company pay about sixteen thousand pounds sterling, and for the proceeds thereof such articles are purchased in England, as the Indians are fond of receiving in exchange for their peltry, and the chief store-house of

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Page 580. "expediting them for Europe" "leur expédition en Europe" "their despatch for Europe."

Page 581. "one thousand people"—"deux milles," i.e., "two thousand."

Page 582. "Gaspe or Gachepe"—"Gaspy."

which is at Montreal. As the accounts relative to this trade are generally kept in Canada in French money, the above sixteen thousand pounds sterling must be computed in the same manner, as this actually has been done by Count Andriani in his journal.

1. Commodities purchased in England	*liv.*	354,000
2. Pay for forty guides, interpreters, and conductors of the expedition*		88,000
3. Pay for one thousand one hundred men, who are employed in the [**583**] traffic in the interior of the country, and who pass the winter there, without returning to Montreal, one thousand eight hundred livres for each		1,980,000
4. Pay for one thousand four hundred men, employed in descending the river with the boats from the great portage to Montreal, and ascending it from this place thither, and transporting the merchandize		350,000
5. Price of the provision, consumed on the passage from Montreal to the great carrying-place, and at the latter place, upon an average per year		4,000
Total amount of all the expence, incurred by the company for one thousand four hundred bundles fine peltry	*liv.*	2,776,000

On comparing the eight-eight thousand pounds sterling, which the sale of these furs produces in London, with these two millions seven hundred and seventy-six thousand livres, it should [**584**] seem that the company sustains a loss of six hundred thousand livres Tournois. But this loss is merely apparent, as will be obvious from the following statement.

The pay of the men, employed in the trade as mentioned in the above account is merely nominal; for excepting the forty guides and one thousand four hundred men, who are employed in ascending and descending the river with the boats, who receive half their wages in cash, all the rest are paid entirely in merchandize, which at the great carrying-place yields a profit of fifty per cent.

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*Every boat's company, consisting of eight or ten persons, has a guide; there is also a chief guide in every harbour, where they winter. They are all inhabitants of Canada, and receive each two thousand five hundred livres.—*Author.* (This is wrongly translated—the French reads "chaque équipage de huit à dix canots a un guide . . ." i.e., "Each flotilla of eight to ten canoes, has a guide . . .")

Page 582. After "Montreal," add "et pour le prix de leur transport d'Angleterre à Montreal," i.e., "and for the cost of transporting them from England to Montreal." NOTE.—"inhabitants of Canada"—"Canadiens," i.e., "(French) Canadians."

Page 584. "one thousand four hundred men"—"400 hommes," i.e., "400 men."

The merchandize, imported on behalf of this trade to the above amount of three hundred and fifty-four thousand livres, consists of woollen blankets, coarse cloths, thread and worsted ribbands of different colours, vermilion, porcelain bracelets, silver trinkets, firelocks, shot, gunpowder, and especially rum. In fort Détroit these articles are sold for three times their usual value in Montreal, in Fort Michillimakkinak four times dearer, at the great carrying-place eight times, at Lake Winnipeg sixteen times; nay the agents fix the price still higher at their will and pleasure.

As the men, employed in this trade, are paid in merchandize, which the company sells with an enormous profit, it is obvious at how cheap a [**585**] rate these people are paid. They purchase of the company every article, they want; it keeps with them an open account, and as they all winter in the interior of the country and beyond lake Winnipeg, they pay, of consequence, excessively dear for the blankets, and the clothes, which they bring with them for their wives. These servants of the company are in general extravagant, given to drinking and excess; and these are exactly the people whom the company wants. The speculation on the excesses of these people is carried so far, that if one of them happened to lead a regular, sober life, he is burthened with the most laborious work, until by continual ill-treatment he is driven to drunkenness and debauchery, which vices cause the rum, blankets and trinkets to be sold to greater advantage. In 1791, nine hundred of these menial servants owed the company more than the amount of ten or fifteen years pay.

This is in a few words the system of the company, at the head of which are Messrs. Forbisher and Mactarish, who possess twenty-four shares of the forty-six, of which the company consists. The rest, divided into smaller portions, are distributed among other merchants in Montreal, who either transact business with the company [**586**] or otherwise do not concern themselves in their affairs.

The north-west company is to subsist six years; at the expiration of which time the dividends are to be paid to the share-holders; until that time they remain with the capital.

Page 584. "dearer," omit. "great carrying-place," "au grand portage." "Winnipeg"—"Winnipey." "Nay, the agents fix the price still higher . . . "—"et plus haut le prix en est fixé arbitrairement par les chefs traitans," i.e., "And further up the price is fixed at their will and pleasure by the chief traders."

Page 585. Before "beyond lake Winnipeg" read "generally." After "excessively dear" add "le rhum qu'ils boivent," i.e., "for the rum they drink" "the clothes which they bring with them for their wives" "les draps qu'ils donnent à leurs femmes, etc., etc." "the cloth which they give to their wives, etc., etc.' "Menial servants"—"employés"—occurring twice. "Mactarish"—"Mactavish."

Total amount of the Fur-trade.

The whole amount of the peltry, which the north-west company receives from the great carrying-place and exports from Canada, is estimated at	£88,000
From the Bay of Chaleurs, Gaspe, and Labrador	60,000
From different places in the interior, with which the trade is carried on by a certain number of merchants, who have associated in Michillimakkinak	60,000
Total	£208,000

That branch of this extensive trade, which is carried on by small companies in such parts, as are situated below the lakes, is likely soon to fall into the hands of merchants in the United States, as the free navigation of the Mississippi, stipulated [**587**] in the treaty with Spain, opens a more expeditious, a safer and less expensive outlet for those commodities, and a more easy importation by New Orleans to all the marts of the United States.

Amount of the Merchandize, exported from the Province of Canada in the Year 1786.

Rye, 103,824 bushels, valued at	£20,764	0	0
Flour, 10,476 bushels	12,571	0	0
Biscuit, 9,317 hundred-weight	6,056	0	0
Flax-seed, 10,171 bushels	2,034	4	0
Oats, 4,015 bushels	516	0	0
Pease, 304 bushels	62	16	0
Timber	706	0	0
Masts, staves, planks, shingles	3,262	0	0
Potashes	1,724	0	0
Maiden hair (adianthum capillus veneris, Linn.)	186	0	0
Horses, sixty-seven	670	0	0
Cast iron	1,200	0	0
Spruce-essence for beer	211	0	0
Shook casks	516	0	0
Banala, 1984 hundred-weight	1,289	8	0

Page 586. The pounds named on this page are "sterling." "Gaspe"—"Gaspy." "who have associated in M." "dont le point de réunion est M," i.e., "whose place of meeting is M."

Page 587. After "the United States" add "Il est à présumer encore que quelques marchands américains se mêleront aussi du commerce de pelleteries fines, et leur donneront une direction vers le sud beaucoup moins dispendieuse pour quelques-uns des points où l'on peut les obtenir que le débouché de Montréal par les lacs. Le tems et les succès des premières tentatives pourront seuls faire connaître de quel profit sous ce rapport l'Amérique pourra priver l'Angleterre," i.e., "It is to be expected that some of the American merchants will take a hand in the fine fur trade and give these finer furs a direction to the south; this would be much less expensive for some of the points where such furs can be procured than by way of Montreal and the lakes. Only time and

Salmon	759	0	0
Potatoes	55	6	0
Smoaked salmon	68	15	0
[588] Onions	300	0	0
Pork	376	0	0
Beef	210	0	0
Train oil	3,700	0	0
Salt fish and peltry from Labrador, from the Bay of Chaleurs and Gaspe, according to the list transmitted by Governor Coxe	60,000	0	0
Amount of the peltry which comes from the great lakes, from the factories of the north-west company, and other places, according to the under-mentioned detail	225,977	0	0
Sum total	£343,214	9	0

being the amount entered in the customs-house books of Canada.

A detailed Account of the different sorts of Peltry, exported from Canada in the Year 1786.

	6,213	foxes skins.
	116,623	beavers.
	23,684	otters.
	5,959	minks.
	3,958	weasels.
	17,713	bears.
[589.]	1,659	young bears.
	126.079	dear skins in the hair.
	202,719	castors.
	10,854	racoon.
	2,277	wild cat-skins, loose.
	3,702	ditto in bundles.
	7,555	elk.
	12,923	wolves.
	506	whelps.
	64	tygers.
	15,007	seal-skins.
	480	squirrel.

the success of the first attempts can show of what profit in this respect America can deprive England."

Before the table read "Une livre sterling est de 20 schellings, cinq schellings font une piastre forte ou dollar," i.e., "one pound sterling is 20 shillings; five shillings make a "piastre forte, or a dollar"—a clear mistake, 5s. currency made a dollar.

"Cast-iron"—"Ginseng."

"Rye"—"Froment" i.e., "wheat" "(adianthum capillus veneris, Linn.)" is an interpolation. "shook casks"—"shook casles," a misprint.

Page 588. "Train-oil"—"Huile de poisson," i.e., "fish oil." Train-oil is "huile de baleine."

"Weasels"—"(Fisher)."

Page 589. "Castors"—"chats musqués," i.e., "muskrats." "Whelps"—"jeunes loups," i.e., "young wolves."

Although a variety of circumstances, incident to the chace, occasioned by the weather, or originating in the sentiments of the Indians, cannot but produce variations in regard to the quantities of peltry yearly received, yet the results of the years 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, and 1791, nearly correspond with those of 1786: a circumstance, which as it happens in regard to a trade, that extends from Labrador to a distance of three or four hundred miles from Lake Superior, is very remarkable.

[**590.**] *Account of the Merchandize, imported into Canada in the said Year* 1786, *extracted from the Custom-house Books.*

	(Sterling)
Rum	£63,032
Brandy	225
Molasses	21,380
Coffee	2,065
Sugar	5,269
Spanish wine	31,288
Tobacco	1,316
Salt	2,912
Chocolate	129
Sum total	£127,616 (Sterling).

An exact account of the value of piece-goods has not yet been made out in a regular manner: but in pursuance of an order of Lord Dorchester, the sum total of the value of all imports was by the merchants, upon a four years average, determined in the following manner, viz.:—

Amount of the above sum	£127,616	0	0
Merchandize for Quebec	99,700	0	0
Ditto for Montreal	97,800	0	0
Amount total of Imports	£325,116	0	0
Amount total of Exports	343,214	9	0
Balance in favour of Canada	£18,098	9	0

[**591**] To the above imports is to be added the value of six thousand seven hundred and nine barrels of salt pork, and of one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four firkins of butter, of about fifty or sixty pounds each, for the use of the military.

The imports in the following years 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, and 1791, were nearly of the same value, with a difference of about five or six thousand pounds sterling, more or less.

Page 589. "miles"—"lieues," i.e., "leagues."
Page 590. "in the following manner" read "with the following result."
Page 591. "one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four"—"1574." "and 1791" is an interpolation.

At the close of this short account of the trade of Canada I shall here repeat once more, that it is a faithful extract of the journal of Count Andriani, of which a friend of his, to whom he had communicated it, permitted me to make use. The abilities and character of Count Andriani, as well as the facility, with which he was able to make his researches pursuant to the direction of the British government, inspire great confidence in the exactness of the information, which he has collected. I have not been able myself to substantiate the veracity of his accounts; and besides it is easily understood, that since the time, when he wrote, some alterations may have taken place, in point both of the quality and the value of the exports and imports.

Page 591. "quality"—"quantités," i.e., "quantities." (Smith has interlined the word "quantity" before "quality.")

DAVID WILLIAM SMITH.
(Anglo-Canadian)

From the John Ross Robertson Historical Collection, Toronto.

NOTES UPON MR. DE LIANCOURT'S TRAVELS IN UPPER CANADA,

BY AN

ANGLO-CANADIAN*

D'Israeli, in his "Curiosities of Literature," informs us, that "besides the ordinary errors, or *Errata,* which happen in printing a work, there are others, which are purposely committed, that the errata may contain what is not permitted to appear in the body of the work."

In these notes which are intended as Errata to the Duke's travels in Upper Canada, we shall dwell very little on the ordinary errors of the printing, of which, however, there are a competent Quantity—not only in the Typography, but in the Orthography of the work—we shall not enlarge much on the descriptive and topographical Errors of the writer—but we shall principally observe on the Errors which have been purposely committed—that our errata may contain a refutation of the falsehoods with which the work abounds, and exhibit to the world truths which this Emigrée would not permit to appear in the body of his Travels—Truths, that we hope will induce, whoever may print the next Edition of this Frenchman's Book, to interlard them with his Calumny, and by their mixture, lessen the detraction, so infamously aimed at private Character, tending to undermine all Confidence and threatening to pervert the Springs of Hospitality—for who will dare to receive the Traveller, and Stranger, and the needy, if urbanity is to be repaid by the disclosure of all private conversation, and all the unreserved interchanges of Society twisted, coloured, garbled and distorted, into ten thousand shapes, to answer ulterior purposes! Few men can retain a mass of private conversation sufficiently accurate to carry the same, through the festivity of an entertainment to their chamber, and there by cursory memoranda, to make faultless notes, to be the groundwork of a book, which is to describe the Continent of North America.

But Mr. de Liancourt's publication has a more expanded object. He not only endeavours to blacken the reputation of the King's officers in Canada, but he wishes to disseminate a belief among his Majesty's subjects in that Province, that its natural interests are incongruous with those of the Mother Country, and that they will not long be a member of this great Empire. But God grant that his prediction may be as false as it has been in regard to the transactions which have so recently taken place in his own Country.

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*David W. Smith.

The Translator in his Preface to the travels of the Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt is certainly mistaken when he asserts that "Britons and Americans now think of each other only as brethren," and that the Duke "communicates nothing but what is plainly of the highest authority."

This, of course, he takes from Monsr. de la Rochefoucault's own assertion, in his Dedication to his Aunt, wherein he says, "he has done everything in his power to insert nothing but what is authentic" and "that he has sought after truth by every means in his power."

In running over the Catalogue of this traveller's good Qualities, the translator calls him "one of the most amiable and most virtuous of all the french Nobility," but if Gratitude is any integral part of Virtue, the misnomer is great indeed, for want of Truth and want of Gratitude are characteristics properly applicable to this Frenchman, not that they are to be discovered by the Reader of his book in England; but he is known to deserve them by a person intimately acquainted with his visit to Upper Canada.

There is a great inconsistency in the Duke's Character, and probably the real object of his visit to America is not yet known—he tells you he "fled from the Poignard" of the revolution in France; and yet while safe, in another Country, he descends to dedicate his work to his Aunt as "Citizeness" La Rochefoucault D'Enville and "shrinks in agony from the Exultations with which british officers tell him of the ruin of the naval force of republican France."

The Translator informs us that "he visited the Lakes, the Bays, the Creeks, the points of the Influx of the navigable Rivers into the Sea, and those beyond which navigation cannot ascend towards their springs, etc., etc."

Now so far as Upper Canada is concerned his personal knowledge was confined there to a journey of thirty-six miles on the side of Niagara River, from Fort Erie to Navyhall, at the Emboucheur thereof; and from thence to Kingston across Lake Ontario, the smallest of the five Lakes which empty themselves by the St. Lawrence.

The Duke tells you that "General Simcoe, the Governor of Upper Canada, was informed of his journey to that Province by Mr. Hammond, the English Ambassador to the United States," and that the Commandant of Fort Erie, where he entered the Province, "was directed to show his (and his party) every civility in his power," which he accordingly did! and yet his Translator acknowledges, that "whenever the views, the interests, and the public servants of the British Government come to be mentioned, the Duke usually speaks the language of a foreigner and a foe!" so much so that in some places "it has been found expedient to insert initials for proper names and to substitute asterisks for sentiments."

And further he admits, that his author "tells all that he could learn, without being restrained, even by considerations of personal delicacy, or the secrecy of honour from making public several things

which were certainly not intended to be thus proclaimed to all Europe by those who communicated them to him."

The liberal compilers of the *Monthly Review*, make this remark upon the Duke: "We cannot refrain from observing that the author has taken the most indecent liberties with private characters. In numerous instances he has retailed the little scandal and evil reports which neighbours are said to have whispered of each other; some of those stories which he calls ludicrous are incredible and foolish; and even little familiarities of Courtship, with a modest young woman, are related with the same wantoness."

"His mention of persons is frequently divested of delicacy and discretion; and he appears to be but little restrained by the dictates of charity."

"The Cool Levity with which Individuals are treated by him is, perhaps, without parallel among writers who have pretended any regard for the character of others, or for their own."

"A considerable portion of his communications respecting Canada, consists in relations of what passed in private Conversation. Whether the representations of M. de Liancourt be correct or otherwise it is not our Province to enquire: but it is painful to us, to behold an instance of a man of high rank and liberal Education so abusing the general confidence observed not only among Gentlemen, but among all ranks of people, as to treasure up for general Circulation whatever might be uttered in the unsuspicious intercourse of retired society."

The Duke indeed had small means and very few opportunities of procuring information, except what he picked up at private Tables, and that he has not only disclosed abundantly, but has twisted, turned, garbled and perverted, to suit his own purpose. The great kindness shown to him by Governor Simcoe has been ungratefully returned, and fastidiously acknowledged; he lived with his Excellency near eighteen days, during which time he never was three miles from the General's Residence,* the remainder of the time he was in Upper Canada, which was but short, he was entertained by the Officers of the 5th Regt. of foot, commanding at the Posts of Fort Erie, Fort Chippewa and Niagara, and was probably not more than a mile from any of their respective garrisons: the world, therefore, may easily judge of the scope he had for personal observation; and as to Lower Canada, which he touches upon in 50 pages, at the latter end of the 1st vol., he never was within 150 miles of that Province, Lord Dorchester having refused to permit Mr. de Liancourt to descend the St. Lawrence: and for many reasons it was just as well he did not.

But to be more in detail, Mr. de Liancourt surely means to be sarcastic when he calls a small armed vessel on the lakes [**381**] an English frigate!—and a Captain commanding a company at a small [**382**] post a Governor!—the fort of which he represents as surrounded

*Excepting one Tour of four days, along the *banks* of Lake Ontario, in a bark Canoe, with the Governor, in order to see the *interior* Country!

with tottering Palisadoes, and by way of affording great information to the non-military part of his Readers, the Duke tells you that the duty of the soldiers, who form the Garrison of Fort Erie, consists in standing [**383**] sentries, etc.

[**384**] Yes, Translator, the 15 shillings per trip for 5 men taking a batteaux from Fort Chippewa to Fort Erie is in addition to their pay as Soldiers; and the Duke should have said it was for conveying "military stores" and not "goods" destined for Detroit.

By way of further information, he says, the Soldiers have a Garden where they cultivate Vegetables. The Duke is not correct in the items he gives as composing a ration of Provisions, nor in the sum paid for them. [**385**] His assertions, too, relative to the tour of duty taken by each Regiment, etc., is altogether hypothetical.

[**386**] The Schooners and other armed vessels in Lake Erie, he is pleased to call Yachts.

A great deal may be collected from the following passage, speaking of the "french" Canadians, who are hired as boatmen, between Forts Erie and Chippewa. "The Canadians no sooner learned that we were Frenchmen than they expressed to us a satisfaction, attachment, and respect, repeated demonstrations of which, our peculiar situation obliged us to avoid."

Why should *any* man whose pursuits are just and honorable avoid the receiving of that respect which is his due? Was the Duke afraid that the homage of these voyageurs might prevent his being admitted into Lower Canada?

[**387**] His Comparison of the paper money of France with that of Upper Canada is not a good one—everyone knows the depreciation of the one; and the other has never yet been below its value. Previous to the Province being organized into a civil government of itself, the Commandants of the posts took Securities from persons issuing paper money and appointed a check [qu. clerk?] to countersign the notes, that the Quantity for which Security was given should not be exceeded. Since the formation of the Government hard Dollars have been circulated in abundance, and the Receiver-General has sometimes made payments of silver in wheelbarrows!

[**388.**] When Major Pratt insisted on sending the Duke in one of his boats, attended by an officer, and manned with 6 soldiers, to Fort Chippewa, he requites that officer's hospitality and civility, by saying this act of kindness bore the appearance of scorn, more than politeness.

And how much unlike a french Nobleman, of the [**394**] Court of Louis XVI is Mr. de Liancourt, when he condescends to take off "Poor Lieutenant Faulkner" for addressing him as "his Highness," and observing how dull he was untill some glasses of wine had cheered up his spirits.

[**400.**] The Duke makes some misnomer in talking of the lands from Chippeway to "New York."

[**405**.] And he very much mistakes the real state of things when he says that though the Canadas have a representative form of government, yet all the springs of the political machine are in the hands of the Governor-General!

The best refutation to this assertion is that the Government have not the power or influence to return one member to the House of Assembly of either Province.

[**408**.] The Legislature have nothing to do with the allotment of Lands, they belong to the Crown, and are granted by the Governor-in-Council.

The Representatives, or Commons House of Assembly, are elected for four years only—not for seven. No titles of honour have yet been connected with a seat in the Legislative Council.

[**411**.] The River La Tranche, or Thames, is not near the Miami River, and for the Great River the Duke probably means the Grand River.

[**417**.] The Justices of the Peace in their individual Capacities as Magistrates, had no power to grant lands, but certain Boards which were appointed for the purpose, and of which the Justices were, many of them, members, had the power of recommending for 200 acres, that being the smallest quantity of Land granted for a farm.

[**423**.] The Duke very much misrepresents when he says the property in these lands is sooner or later transferred according to the will and pleasure of the Council; and that the money expended in their improvement has been spent for the benefit of the Crown. The Government have taken every pains to ascertain the person legally entitled to the right promised by the original ticket of occupation; and have issued Grants under the Great Seal to them.

[**424**.] Mr. de Liancourt has enlarged very illiberally on this false statement, as no order of Council was ever revoked where the necessary Improvement was made within the prescribed time, or unless some trick was attempted on the Government, in the true spirit of American Land-jobbing.

[**427**.] The principal Merchants who were settled in Detroit did remove from the American to the British side when the american posts were given up.

[**405**.] The Duke tells you he employed his long residence in Niagara to acquire some knowledge of the Country! the attainment of which was greatly facilitated by the "generous openness of Governor Simcoe," and having obtained by this generous openness all the General's private plans and sentiments, in the confidence of one Gentleman, to another, he embellishes them to his own fancy, and publishes them to the world: wishing to impress his Readers with a [**429**] belief that this good and pious officer had assisted the Indians and instigated them to make war against the Americans! And he reproaches the General for acts done in America during the Rebellion: in his military capacity: in the Service of his King and Country! and accuses him of a thirst to be revenged on the separated States.

The flimsey excuse for this disclosure is that the General had communicated these projects to other Persons. If an ardent and passionate desire to serve one's Country; if humanity blended with unlimited Courage; if great conceptions to promote honorably the Interests of Great Britain can be called revengeful and bloodthirsty, then General Simcoe may deserve the animadversions of this Frenchman, but the friends of that lamented officer, who died in the Service of his Country, will never allow his memory to be traduced by a Cowardly fugitive, who has since (it is said) made his peace with Buonaparte: for, had the french Nobility manfully stood by their King and their Estates, the convulsions of France might have been lessened, if not prevented.

[**430**.] The Duke then conjectures on the possibility of England being long able to retain Canada—if he be alive, let him read the accounts of the glorious struggles they have made to retain it in 1812 and 1813, in conjunction with the exertions of its loyal Inhabitants.

[**431**.] In speaking of Mrs. Simcoe, Monsr. de Liancourt forgets all his polite gallantry as a frenchman of fashion, he loses all the dignity of a nobleman, and he clearly shows how ignorant he is of the kind and amiable reciprocity which exists between man and wife in this blessed land of freedom and happiness! Was it well done of the Cidevant Duke de La Rochefoucault-Liancourt, (while he was fostered by an English Governor, in a country where he was received with as much attention as if he had then actually enjoyed his honours and his property), to publish to the world that this Exemplary Lady performed the duties of a wife with so much scrupulous exactness as to act the part of a private Secretary to her husband?

Was she thus to be metamorphosed into a clerk because she sometimes copyed her husband's confidential dispatches?

Fye, sir! you should have respected the Ladies delicate feelings; altho' you had none such for her Lord! But Mrs. Simcoe is well known to all who loved and followed the General's fortunes, and no reflections on her conduct, whether powerful or puerile, can shake their attachment to the relict of their friend, or induce the world to believe or form any opinion on the Duke's assertion, except that of ill nature and ingratitude in his own breast!

[**431**.] Note.—When Mr. Philips was about to publish Monsr. de Liancourt's Book he wrote a very civil letter to General Simcoe, desiring to know if he wished for any alteration to be made in the Duke's assertions relative to him.

The General's answer of the 25 June, 1799, with a short preface, a note to Mr. King in 1800, and a Letter of his father's, are inserted after these notes, to which the reader is referred.

[**437**.] The Duke says that "all the Expences of the civil and military administration of Upper and Lower Canada are defrayed by England, and that the sum total," including the political Expences or the money paid to the Indians, "though this forms an item of the military Expenditure, amounts for Upper Canada to £100,000 sterling,

nearly two-thirds of this sum or £60,000 are paid to the Indians," their agents, etc.

Mr. De Liancourt seems fond of dealing in large round numbers, the accuracy of which he certainly could not vouch for, for there was nobody in Upper Canada who could inform him what the "military Expenditure" was, that being under the Controul of Lord Dorchester, and his Lordship did not chuse to afford the Duke the means of information, which he obtained at table and in private, otherwise by "Governor Simcoe's generous openness."

And then speaking of the presents given to the Indians, he displays all the malignity of his heart by a falsehood, which must tend to create bad blood between the British and Americans, whom, he says are depicted to the Indians as their inveterate Enemies, and that "they are made to swear that they will burn and scalp these foes at the first Signal." And he would then induce you to believe that General Simcoe had contemplated the Service of 50,000 of [**438**] these Indians, "who had all taken an oath not to leave a scalp on the skull of any American they should fall in with!" and to crown all he says, "it is literally true!"

So damnable an assertion against the most pious, the most humane, and one of the bravest Gentlemen of his time, is not to be borne with Temper. The Duke's own Translator admits it to be "a matter of regret, that his Author should have preferred a charge of such a serious and heinous complexion, without giving himself the least trouble to substantiate its truth." Had he taken all the trouble in the world he could not have proved it, for 'tis as unfounded in fact, as 'tis hellish in Idea. It is as untrue as that which this frenchman tells you is "literally true"; the probability of collecting 50,000 Indians! It is as untrue as another infamous assertion he makes, where he would lead you to believe that the Americans are so profligate as to be bribed in very large sums of money to betray the Interests of their own Country in favour of ours!

Had this attack upon the American character been published before he visited their Country so extensively, he probably would not have had to record the Enthusiasm with which he tells you he was sometimes received—particularly at Goochland—where he "flatters" himself by construing drunken intrusion into Regard and affection.

[**439.**] The Duke's opinions on the Grants of Land, seem only to expose his want of good information, and he appears [**440**] to know but little of the drawbacks allowed on certain articles exported from England for Canada.

If Mr. de Liancourt was within the pale of the English law he ought to be prosecuted [**447**] for what he says of Colonel Butler (which the Translator has noted only by Asterisms). This Gentleman never had the privilege of taking from the Indian store houses, which contain their presents, whatever he chose!

[**449.**] The Duke mistakes again in calling the Grand River the Miami or Great River. The Miami River is in the United States,

but he has written of so many places he has never seen that this may be considered a trifling mistake.

[**450.**] Brandt does not dress after the European fashion; he never wears breeches—perhaps the Duke alluded to French Sansculottes, when he asserts this.

[**451.**] We have next as notable an account of the drawing of a net as we had of the duty of soldiers, which was to stand sentry. We are told that "one end of the net was held by men who remained on shore, while the Remainder was carried into the stream by means of a boat, which after the net had been entirely expanded conveyed the other end back to the shore. Both Ends are joined on the spot, whence the net is drawn." Miraculous—great information—fit for the Dictionary of "reticulated" Johnson himself. Did ever anybody hear of a net being drawn on the shore in any other way? Surely this information was designed for the Children's Repertory of Arts, and ought to be classed with Wallis's Progress of Wool and Progress of Wheat, published at the Juvenile Library!

[**453.**] The Duke de Liancourt's misrepresentations are not easily detected by his Cis-Atlantic readers, for his assertions are broad and positive as of his own Knowledge; but those who have been in Upper Canada can refute his statements by as positive contradictions, upon the best and most substantial Evidence—The Testimony of the thing itself!

What can be more mischievous than his attempt to make you believe that Colonel Smith was clearing 5,000 acres of Land by the Soldiers of the Regiment under his command, who were reduced to labour for him at reduced wages, or not be allowed to work at all? What can exceed the impudent assurance of such an assertion? But the malignity of his intention perhaps is answered, and the impression is made on most of his early readers. The subsequent perusers of his work, as his character is more canvassed, become better acquainted with his untruths. The copy to which this is annexed was purchased out of a Circulating Library, and this false statement as to Colonel Smith (which cannot be called, in any way of expressing it, less than a Lye), induced some person into whose hands the book had fallen, to write in the margin, "Bounce! there is not one acre of it cleared."

Thank you anonymous lover of Truth, for this marginal Correction.

What must the Duke feel, if he has any feeling at all, when he reflects, if ever he reflects at all, what injury might have been done to this officer's military Character, by this rash Assertion?

What must he feel himself as a man, to be told that this assertion is as barefaced a Lye, as it is evidently a Libel; for it can be proved beyond the possibility of Contradiction, that there never was a soldier of the Fifth Regiment within forty miles (as the Crow flies across the Lake) of these 5,000 acres or about 120 miles to go by Land—at such a distance was this Land from the Garrison of Niagara, Lake Ontario laying between. Nay more, Colonel Smith never cleared an acre of this land; neither He nor any of his family, nor any Soldier in the

Regiment ever saw it, and excepting the American families which were put upon it to make the necessary settlements, it is in wood to this day, and that is self-evident Testimony which cannot be set aside.

The Duke's statement is almost too puerile to be treated seriously; but as Strangers to that Country, who read his book have no means of discriminating, they ought to be correctly informed by those who have been in Canada.

The good Colonel died in the House, which the Duke mentions, unconscious of any act, to disturb his latter end, and little suspecting that the attention of himself and Son to this exiled nobleman, would have been requited by such an unfounded attack upon his military character. His Son, who built the House, and was Surveyor-General of the Province, to which he was passionately attached, with an equal love combined for his Country and his King, must feel somewhat nettled at having his improvement compared to a "French Kitchen Garden!"

[**456.**] It is not correct that 5 members only of the Commons House of Assembly could be collected at the Parliament which opened while Mr. De Liancourt was at Navyhall, tho' it is possible that number only resided at Niagara, and the distant members might not have arrived in time for the Governor's speech—and the Duke makes one grand mistake when he says, speaking of the Parliament, there is no "Opposition," for [**457**] negatively speaking, nearly all the Members are in Opposition, there being no such thing as a ministerial party, and though some of the Officers of Government have, from their individual good conduct, and consequent popularity been returned to Parliament, the Government have not the power of bringing in any one Member. But it has happened that an Officer of the Govt. has been Speaker.

[**458.**] In describing Fort Niagara, the Duke says all the buildings are of Stone, and were built by the French.

We beg leave to say, that a very great proportion of the Buildings are of wood. The old french trading house (now used as a Mess House) is of Stone—so is the Magazine, but most of the Officers' Quarters and all the men's, and the upper halves of the Block-Houses are of wood.

[**459.**] The Duke represents the Niagara River as intercepted for two or three months by masses of floating ice, and that the Indians now and then cross it, "by jumping from one piece of ice to another," but the number who venture are never great.

We believe this last Assertion of the Author's to be one of the trueisms of his book. and that the number who so pass are very small. We never had the pleasure to know any of the Jumpers! Instead on months, however, the passage of the River was seldom interrupted for 2 or 3 weeks—indeed seldom a week, wherein you could not pass over in a very small, light boat, assisted with Ice-hooks.

What a dissatisfyed traveller this Monsr. de Liancourt must be, who, while he tells us that Governor Simcoe [**467**] loaded him with civilities, in a manner the most agreeable, yet, His "Dukeship"

(for "Grace" he had none) "did not experience one moment of true happiness, and real untainted enjoyment during the whole time of his residence at Navyhall?" But then after a Farrago of contradictory stuff, he shews the cloven foot and tells you he would rather be poor all his life, then owe his restoration to British Pride!

[**472.**] One of the greatest "Jugglers" who has ever been in Upper Canada, is the Cidevant Duke De la Rochefoucault-Liancourt.

[**478.**] The good people of York are very much obliged to this french Gentleman for representing them as "Inhabitants who do not possess the fairest character," because they are of opinion it will be considered equally false, with many other of the Duke's statements, and his personallity to Mr. Beresey, the leader of the German settlers, is gross, and deserves correction.

The first thing our traveller contemplates on leaving General Simcoe, whose plans he professes sometimes to approve, is that the dependance of Canada on [**480**] England will not be of long duration.

[**481.**] He says the separation is an Event which cannot fail to take place, and that he knows of nothing that can prevent it.

One thing probably has retarded it, or rather perhaps the attempt to separation, and that is Lord Dorchester's wise refusal to let this bigotted frenchman disseminate his notions among the Lower Canadians. He might have done mischief at Quebec and Montreal.

[**482.**] The Duke then dismembers at a great rate—he not only predicts the speedy loss of Canada, "this bright Jewel of our Crown," but hints that India will share the same fate. With equal facility he lops off Florida and Mexico from Spain, and dismembers Portugal of the Brazils, but he does not foresee the loss of any of the French Colonies—he has no second sight there—he could not foresee that at the close of the year 1813, They would be eased of all their foreign possessions, and that the ruler of his nation would be sighing for "Colonies, Ships and Commerce."

[**469.**] He could "not discern the period when anarchy should cease in his ill-fated country," and France should rest her Glory on a safe and lasting foundation. He, despairing runaway, could not calculate upon the restoration of the Bourbons as other powerful minds always did.

[**468.**] He who would prefer to "continue poor and banished all the days of his life, rather than owe his restoration to his Country and to his Estates, *to the influence of foreign Powers*, and to British pride," ought not to benefit by the amnesty, which the people of France have obtained by the personal Interference of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia!

He who deserted Louis the 16th and afterwards cringed to an usurper, should not be allowed to profit by the restoration of Louis the 18th.

No! he should be haunted by the Manes of our lamented Simcoe, till he had atoned for his Ingratitude and made a public recantation of his falsehoods.

[**483**.] Captain Littlehales was General Simcoe's Major of Brigade and not his adjutant.

[**484**.] When the Duke leaves Niagara he forgets what he has said about the troops not being paid with money, for he tells you there were on board the same ship with him, "a detachment of the 5th Regiment, destined for Kingston, to bring money." [**487**.] He lashes this party a little for the pains they took to make themselves clean and full dressed before they landed, without saying a word about the pains the french Soldiers of old took under their Kings, to be highly powdered and smart in their appearance.

[**490**.] And if ever there was an illiberal disclosure, it is that which the Duke makes on leaving the King's ship, in which he was sent across the Lake. He tells you that Governor Simcoe had amply supplied them with provisions and told them they were not to pay for their passage, yet to pacify the french rancour of his breast, and to deceive himself with the idea that he was not "making this passage at the Expence of the King of England" he offered poor Lieutenant Earl, who commanded the Vessel, a present, which it seems he received; and the Duke dishonourably publishes it to the world and says, "However *Kingly* were the Commander and his Ship, he took our money."

Mr. Earl was not an officer of the Royal Navy, but a Lieutenant in the provisional marine Department, whose pay is very small, and if by any strained Construction, his accepting this present, from a Person calling himself a Duke could be twisted into an improper act; his poverty must be blamed for it and not his will—besides in point of right, custom would give him some claim even for these Refugeés.

The Duke not finding his passports at Kingston, gets much out of Temper, says 'tis owing to Governor Simcoe and Lord Dorchester not being on good Terms—reflects also upon Mr. Hammond—and reiterates Patience! Patience! of which he appears to have none. So enraged is he with his Lordship that [**495**] speaking of him afterwards, in the opinion of two Parties, one of which think him to possess profound wisdom and consummate abilities, while the other considers he was formerly an useful man; the Duke cannot help adding "but he is now superannuated."

Had Lord Dorchester permitted him to go into Lower Canada he might have been considered so.

[**498**.] By Queen's Bay, he probably means the Bay of Quenty.

[**503**.] The Duke is not quite correct when he says, "there are few, or no wolves, rattlesnakes, or other noxious animals within country."

[**504**.] Resin and Tar for common use have often been obtained from the Pines, but not as an article of Trade; and the experiments for the culture of Hemp and Flax have not been unsuccessful.

[**509**.] No better Carpenters are to be met with anywhere than at Newark.

[**510**.] As if the Duke had never taken too much wine before, he speaks of the Hospitality of Capt. Parr, and of Major Dobson of the

60th Regiment, who commanded at Kingston, as forming a remarkable Epocha to him and his Companions—

[**512.**] but in speaking of the officers of this Regiment afterwards, altho' he says they are well bred and polite, his translator thinks proper to omit something, which he replaces by two lines of Asterisms.

The Duke then speculates a little, talks of its being better for Great Britain to declare Canada independent—that one half of the Militia would not take up arms against America and none perhaps against France.

Would Mr. de Liancourt have Britain give up Canada, that she might throw herself into the Arms of France? Let him read the Quebec Gazettes of 1813, for a refutation of his assertions on the Militia, in thinking they would not fight the Americans! and his premeditated Journey to Lower Canada was possibly to enforce by the subtilty of his arguments, the propriety of their never taking up Arms against France!

[**513.**] He then says it is believed the Loyalists, as they are esteemed, would certainly assist the States, if they marched any troops into Upper Canada.

Let him read the papers, I say.

And then forsooth he wishes to put these Conjectures in the mouths of the Officers of the 60th Regiment, twisted, no doubt, to answer the Duke's purpose, and garbled from the generous openness of Conversation at their military mess!—a grateful return upon similar principles to those exercised towards General Simcoe.

But it is clear from what the Duke often drops when he is less upon his guard, that he must frequently have obtained the opinions of very low and perhaps wicked individuals, which he has set down as sentiments of whole classes of the people, however erroneous; and thus by this heterogeneous mixture, of exposing and distorting the unreserved communications of confidential and unsuspected Intercourse, with the tattle of every Blackguard he could interrogate in private, he has conjured up a publication as illiberal as it is in many parts untrue, and written probably for ulterior purposes not yet developed.

The Duke cannot leave the Province without having a slap at "the Royal Navy," which he tells you is not very formidable at Kingston. This is one of our traveller's few truisms, for certainly the Royal Navy is not very formidable on Lake Ontario, no part of them being there—the vessels employed are for the conveyance of troops and baggage across the larger waters, and being *peace time* in that Country, were neither half armed nor manned—the crews are hired as for Merchant vessels and this Service constitutes a department which is called the provincial marine, and the transport duty is the principal object of this branch of the military establishment. But the Duke uncharitably informs you they have another object, namely, the embezzlement of stores, although he admits that an enquiry was made into two officers' conduct, who, not being dismissed, he rejects the benevolent conclusion that they were innocent, and hints that they were protected

by influence, but he proves nothing! and nothing proves more how little any of his assertions should be attended to.

[**515.**] After condemning the poor Commissioner and the principal Shipwright he transfers his affection to Captain Bouchette, a *french*-Canadian, who certainly deserves all he has said of him—but we believe the Duke would not have rendered this officer his due if he had not been a frenchman.

[**516.**] Our traveller then draws an invidious distinction between the English and French Services; thinks our discipline is too severe, and our men not treated with so much attention and kindness as theirs. This only exposes his venom and his ignorance, for the Regiments in general in our Service are more connected like a large family than any non-military man can conceive; and great attention is paid to the comforts of the Soldier in Canada.

[**519.**] The Duke, however, admits afterwards, that the severity of our service did not prevent the detachment, which was relieved at Kingston while he was there, from taking a hearty farewell, and cheerful glass with their friends, for he says, "The soldiers were, without exception, as much intoxicated as he ever saw any in the French Service!"

[**520.**] In speaking of the pleasure he received in a batteaux rowed by french-Canadians, who always sing in unison with the motion of the oar, he says, "You fancy yourself removed into a Province of France; and this illusion is sweet!" We rather apprehend the sweet illusion upon the Duke's mind was his desire to have Canada a french Province.

How ungentlemanly to talk of the officers' politeness at Kingston, and then to insinuate that none of them were well informed men. We should imagine the Duke was not the best judge in the world of either.

[**523.**] In speaking of a canadian family who were travelling, the Duke gravely informs us, that they dressed their supper—"and eat it!"

[**380.**] The Duke entered Upper Canada on the 20th June, 1795, and on the 22nd July [**528**] receives Lord Dorchester's refusal to descend into Lower Canada, upon which he vents a Philipic against his Lordship and Mr. Hammond, in no very decent terms, and draws a comparison between "His Grace's" reception in Canada and the way he is obliged to leave it. [**529.**] And in his chagrin he admits he did not merit the honours he had received—[**530**] grumbling, however, in Major Dobson's own barge, which he lent the Duke to carry him to the United States, this ingrate exile vents his disappointment in the indecent sentiment and satisfaction, that he was going to a country "where no commandant, no governor, no minister, enjoys the right of offending honest men with Impunity." How soon frenchman you have forgotten the civilities you received from the Governor and the Commandants of the Province you have left, where the Laws of the land do not permit any honest man, whether he be Duke, or Peasant, to be injured with impunity, and if offence could always be conjured up into a crime, these officers would have a heavy complaint to make against

"His Grace" for his offensive remarks upon them—when he had ceased to receive their favour and protection; and his Ends had been answered.

[**530.**] Having got the Duke to Oswego we shall leave him in the United States; where (while he so much praises it), he did not wish to go, and as he could know so little of Quebec, where he did want to go, but was not permitted to be, so we consider all he has written of that Province to be too hypothetical to require any notice, and, therefore, unworthy of being corrected in these Errata.

The following is the publication by General Simcoe alluded to in the note after the observations, upon page **431**.

"Lieutenant-General Simcoe, understanding that the translation of the Duke de Liancourt's travels has been much circulated, thinks it not improper to print an Extract from a letter of his to the Printer, Mr. Phillips, in answer to a very civil communication received from him respecting that work. This extract will elucidate the purport of the Communication, and at the same time account for Lieutenant-General Simcoe's speech, on the closing of the first Parliament of the Province of Upper Canada, being inserted in the appendix of that work.

He adds a paper delivered by him, when he was very lately under orders for foreign Service, to the Honourable Rufus King, Minister from the United States."

"EXTRACT.

"WOLFORD LODGE,

"25th June, 1799.

"I feel myself highly obliged by your Letter of the 19th of June, and the more so, as the press, since the commencement of the American war, has fashioned itself to the views and interests of those, who have endeavoured to destroy the constitution of England.

"In respect to the subject of your Letter, I do not see how it would be practicable to alter, in the translation, what the Duke de Liancourt has printed in his native language. The Sheets before me are, I think, uniformly mistatements, and those on points (such as the Canada constitution) where he had the subject matter in print. I presume these errors not to be wilful. In respect to any part of my public conduct, that will be always ready to meet discussion where *such discussion* is useful to the public; but, I trust, our american enmity has ceased, and I *know*, that under God, I am the instrument that prevented the war between the two Countries.

"If the Duke de Liancourt, on his return to Philadelphia, told the Americans, that should a war commence, I said 'it must be a war of the purse,' and that instead of their attacking Niagara, 'I meant to attack Philadelphia,' his visit (and also that of many others) was of great temporary utility to the King's Service. But where he could pick

up the story of there being *fifty thousand* Indians (which no american could believe) or that they had all taken *oaths* to *roast* and scalp the Americans, which many Americans would swallow, I am at a loss to conceive.

"On the whole, let his book take its course in the world: if necessary, I shall contradict it; if otherwise, still in process of time my posthumous Memoirs may appear, and a niche may be reserved for this very ungenerous Frenchman.

In the 240th page the Duke mentions my *boasting*: I detest the word, and trust it has never infected my conduct: I wish it could be altered to 'speaking,' or any other word. The fact is not true; I *never* burnt a house during the whole war, except foundries, gaols, and magazines; and in the 'Memoirs of the Queen's Rangers,' a few copies of which I published, in one view to contradict such Characters as La Fayette, and Chastellux, I expressly remarked, page 20, 'on the return, and about two miles from Haddonfield, Major Simcoe was observing to some officers a peculiar strong ground, when looking back, he saw a house that he had passed, in flames: it was too far gone for all his endeavours to save it; he was exceedingly hurt at the Circumstance, but neither threats of punishment, nor offers of reward, could induce a discovery. This was the only instance of a disorder of this nature that ever happened under his command; and he afterwards knew it was not perpetrated by any of the Queen's Rangers.'

"So that you see, sir, my proud *boasting* is of a different quality from what Monsieur Liancourt has apprehended: but most certainly, if american *Avarice, Envy,* or *folly,* had attempted to overrun Upper Canada, I should have defended myself by such measures as English Generals had been accustomed to, and not sought for the morality of war, in the suspicious data of the insidious Oeconomist: my humanity, I trust, is founded on the religion of my Country, and not on the hypocritical professions of a puny Philosophy.

That the Duke de Liancourt asserts my *defensive* plans were settled, and that I loudly professed my hatred to the United States, I conceive with the *candid reader*, will make all those shafts fall harmless, which through me, *he* aimes, as an *honest Frenchman,* at my Country and its best interest, namely, an irrevocable union with the United States. Those sentiments of mine were called forth into public, by the improper conduct of Mr. Randolph, the american Secretary of State, in 1794, and are printed in Debret's collection. I know they gave great satisfaction to the English-Americans, and as much umbrage to the Philosophists and Frenchmen.

"I will trouble you for a moment to say, that if you publish any papers as an appendix to your translation, you may not think it improper to include the speech I inclose, which has never been printed in England, and is illustrative of the objects I had in view, and may, by a note of reference, be easily connected with the view of them, as exhibited by Mons. Liancourt.

"His descriptions, it may be easily traced, originated from snatches and pieces of my conversation.

"Should this speech not enter into your plan, I will be obliged to you, to return it to me.

"Does the Duke de Liancourt mention his companion, Petit Thouars? Perhaps your translator may not know that he was Captain of the Tonant, and killed in the battle with Lord Nelson; if he does not, the anecdote may be agreeable to him.

"I am now to apologize for the trouble I give you in this hasty letter: receive it as a mark of my respect, as I would wish to stand well in the opinion of a man, who, like you, has the wisdom to see that the character of the nation is interested in that of the individual; and that unspotted reputation is the most desirable acquisition for a military and civil servant of his King and Country to secure and to enjoy.

"I observe the translator says, p. 229 '*York designed to be the seat of Government*' etc. It is at *present* the seat of Government, but before I left England for America, I *designed* London, on the Thames, or *La Tranche,* as the seat of Government, and York as an Arsenal. I did not, as Mons. Liancourt seems to suppose, act from circumstances, for I always expected Niagara to be given up, and never thought its possession of importance."

Copy of a paper delivered to the Honorable Rufus King, Minister of the United States (by Major-General Simcoe).

"London, May, 1800.

"The Duke de Liancourt-Rochefoucault, in the recent publication of his travels thro' North America, speaks with much freedom of Major-General Simcoe, then Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada.

"It must evidently appear to any person, who shall give the subject due consideration, that the conclusions which the Duke de Liancourt draws from his supposed communications with the Lieutenant-Governor (while living in his family) are at variance, and inconsistent with themselves: yet, as a servant of his King and Country, Major-General Simcoe deems it proper to say, that the principles which governed his conduct while in the administration of the Government of Upper Canada, were the reverse of what is insinuated by the Duke de Liancourt, and that he was actuated by the most sincere intentions to preserve peace, good neighbourhood, and good will between the King's subjects and those of the United States; and he has ever been of opinion, in express contradiction to Mons. de Liancourt, that the most strict union between the two nations, is the real interest of each, and will mark the soundest policy and true wisdom in those who shall, respectively, govern their Councils. Major-General Simcoe is so conscious of having personally acted upon those principles, during his administration of that Government, that he has claimed from the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, protection and consideration, as having been the principal means of preventing hostilities with the United States, from the mode in which he executed the military orders he received in Upper Canada.

"In testimony of these premises, Major-General Simcoe begs leave, most respectfully, to offer this representation to the Honorable Rufus King, Minister plenipotentiary from the United States to the King of Great Britain."

"Lieutenant-General Simcoe adds a letter of his father to the late Lord Barrington. This monument of the elevated views and statesman-like projects of an accomplished officer, will best elucidate the earliest impressions of his son, relative to America, and indicate the motives of his conduct from any misrepresentation. The Duke de Liancourt Rochefoucault would therein find what incited the Lieutenant-General to prefer the Lieutenant Government of Upper Canada to any other object that might be fairly supposed to be in his reach. The events of the American War have not annihilated the essential interests of Great Britain and the United States."

[Letter to Lord Barrington.]

"Si barbarorum est, in diem vivere, nostra consilia sempiternum tempus spectare debent."
"TULL. CICERO."

"My Lord!

"I will not offer to apologize for the trouble given you in reading this paper, because I have experience that any sketch presented to your Lordship for the public service, will meet with a favorable reception: in the subsequent observations, therefore, if the principles should be erroneous, or the means ill-proportioned, your Lordship, I trust, will pardon the mistakes, because the end is just. It appears to me, my Lord, that the french Government has, until lately, given but an imperfect attention to their North American Settlements, and whilst it has projected claims to the universal, by a parsimonious conduct, has neglected to establish, solidly, a partial Dominion there. But french genius and industry has tempered these errors, the discoveries and representations of their Missionaries have opened their ears; the lucrative fishery and reduction of Louisbourgh have opened their eyes. This capture is, or might have been, of the same Service to them, as the late rebellion in Scotland was to this nation: past errors were seen, favorable occasions given to correct abuses, and to prevent future evils. When the disparity of numbers in North America is considered, the French about 50,000, the English near 2,000,000, we are surprized that a frenchman there dares open his house unless with obeisance, but when he lifts his hand and strikes, from Carolina to Nova Scotia, it seems portentous.

"Numbers, however, avail not without counsel and valour; the astonishment ceases on a nearer survey, and we easily discern the balance more than restored by the difference of genius, manners, pursuits, situation, and government of these people. The English are of a commercial, the French of a military disposition; the latter enterprizing, restless, subtle, active, and ambitious; the former sedentary, softened, fond of quiet and lucre: the force of one strengthened by the union

and harmony of its parts, animated and directed to an invariable point by one government; that of the other broken and dissipated by a variety of distinct governments, habits, views, and humours: the English negligent and unskilful in applying to the passions of the Indians, and in anglicising them; the French of ready address, and incessant application in their management, the more dangerous and difficult to guard against, as the young are tutored, and the sanguinary disposition of the old flattered into horrid acts of treachery and massacre, as pleasing to the Deity and becoming manhood.

"Hence we see the French insulting everywhere with an evident superiority; the English everywhere invaded, defenceless, impotent even to the perception and contempt of the Indians. Whoever remembers the american brigade in the West Indies, will readily discern the mistake of those who judge the american english fitted for military purposes, without the exercise of some painful campaigns; and if they took Louisbourgh, that event was less owing to the material qualities and skill of the besiegers, than to the unparalleled bad behaviour of the besieged, however, the circumstances of those times might gloss the capture.

"These are some, but not the principal reasons, which led me, my Lord, to think the expedition to Virginia not entirely proportioned to its end, if that was to secure to us an advantageous termination to the disputes subsisting between the two Crowns, and to stop the french progress on that continent.

"France from her extent, populousness, and the genius of her people, will be able to pour in ten men to our one, in support of her American pretensions and designs, if the war should last fifty years. In the plan of operations, the first expedient then, which naturally presents itself, is that of cutting off all communication between Old and New France; this the seizure of Quebec will only effect, and at the same instant it will break the french force in Canada—when the spring is diverted or cut off, the river must dry up. Such is the position of Quebec, that it is absolutely the Key of french America, and our possession of it would forever lock out every Frenchman, be the signal of revolt to the Indians, ever determined by success, and probably to a majority of the canadian french, fond of liberty.

"Montreal must fall the same campaign, and Louisbourgh, with every stronghold depending on them for subsistence, and all french Canada will necessarily follow their fate. Such is the happy situation of Quebec, or rather of Montreal to which Quebec is the citadel, that, with the assistance of a few sluices, it would become the center of communication between the Gulph of Mexico and Hudson's Bay, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, by an interior navigation formed for drawing to itself the wealth and strength of the vast interjacent countries; the commerce of Europe, Africa, South America, and Asia, by a quick and easy exterior navigation, and advantageously placed, if not destined, to lay the foundation of the most potent and best connected Empire that ever awed the world.

"Its utility to France will arise from a most rapid and independent commerce, well supplying the want or extinction of all other, since its territories from north to south do, or will with a little industry and ministerial address, produce whatever characterizes the growth and manufacture of every country. What most immediately imports us is the monopoly of furs, with their fabricature; and the vast fishery in and about the River St. Lawrence, at once an inexhaustible mine of wealth, and seminary of hardy seamen. These advantages show the perpetual and mighty resources which Canada alone, in the possession of France, will furnish, in constituting a naval power, to our most dangerous rival. A political necessity will determine this nation, and the insidious practices of France will frequently favour us with pretexts, to destroy, at intervals, their fleets, thereby to preserve our naval superiority, on which our all depends; for, however exalted be the bravery, or happy the conduct of our officers, a reverence for truth obliges me to say that in neither are the french inferior; their military knowledge is incomparably greater, and well exercised; and none, or few, are the instances where we have gained victory when the force was equal. But, my Lord, the temporary expedient of destroying their fleet will be but lopping off the Hydra's head, whilst the fishery of Canada, that noble nursery of seamen, those excellent harbours, particularly Quebec, the best circumstanced in the world for building and docking ships, those deep rivers, crowned with immense forests of excellent oaks and pines, flax plantations, the best iron mines, and every naval requisite for pouring out new fleets, remain in the dominion of France.

"What hinders now, but want of common sense or honesty, the french ministry from seducing and settling in Canada (with recompences which, costing nothing, at once would enrich the country with inhabitants and their industry), all the naval artificers of Europe, to construct with materials at hand, and costing nothing for ages to come, a most formidable fleet on every exigency, and from making a continued naval arsenal from Cape Breton to Montreal?

"Our seizure of Canada would then undeniably, by this destruction of the vital source of their rising naval power, and by an immense accession to our own, give us the monopoly of the fur and fishery trades, open to us so many new and vast channels of Commerce as would take off our every possible Manufacture, especially of Woolen ["woollen" in the printed paper] and Linen whilst it poured in every growth and every material at so cheap a rate as would make us necessarily the mart of foreign exportation, and most amply compensate for even the extinction of all our other foreign trade of importation; a circumstance, in such a situation to be wished, as it would reunite and fortify all our colonists, and the exclusive possession of that continent will fill each ocean with British shipping, without depopulating this Country. Hence, my Lord, posterity will ever venerate Lord Bolingbroke's project of the conquest of Canada, as the wisest and most provident ever framed by british Ministers, and had the execution at

home and abroad been entrusted to men of equal zeal, of sufficient spirit and abilities, its benefit to this nation could no more have been estimated, than its detriment to France, which, at this hour, would have been in no condition to injure or molest us.

"Hence, my Lord, I, with anxiety, saw and spoke, particularly to my Lord Northumberland, in November last, of the efforts against french usurpation, purposed to be made on the Ohio, where nothing decisive may happen, but the advantages and disadvantages may reciprocally fluctuate, as long as the pass of Quebec is open to pour in fresh supplies of french troops.

"The conjuncture seemed favourable, and french invasion afforded the pretext of making an offensive instead of a defensive war, the different effects of which on the minds of the soldiery are well known, as is the greater facility in conducting the former, and its more numerous advantages.

"Such a war would probably have had an advantageous event, if, in the last autumn the fleet of England had been manned for action and the army sufficiently augmented to guard these kingdoms in all contingencies; if a strong squadron had blocked up or destroyed (if they had put to sea) the armament, which it was easy to forsee the french would push to support their pretensions in America; if another squadron, with the transports, etc., all sheathed, by previous feint orders sent to the Windward Islands, and provision made there, apparently destined to seize the neutral or french islands, had sailed in the beginning of March with 6,000 or 7,000 old troops, with some brigades of foreign engineers, and munitions for sieges, and on opening at sea their sealed orders had proceeded to besiege Quebec; if the independent companies and levies of the southern provinces of America had during winter assembled at a proper post in Pensylvania, formed magazines, levelled the roads, and made all apparent preparation for acting on the Ohio in the spring; if a corps of 6,000 men had been raised and regimented under british officers in New York and New England, and desultory ["delusory" in the print] measures taken for their joining the troops in Pensylvania; if 200 or 300 shipwrights had been sent to the fort on the Lake Ontario, as a reinforcement of the Garrison, but secretly to collect and build as many sloops and boats as possible; if a few indian companies of irregulars, under their own officers, had been entertained to attend these two bodies; if the Governor of New England, solely trusted with the secret, had privately collected provisions, munitions, etc., during winter, at Boston; and in March had transported 2,000 of the new raised troops to Nova Scotia, under pretext of acting offensively there, but in reality to relieve the old Regiments; if, in April, the Governor of New York had assembled the Militia, Indians, etc., at Albany, and made feigned dispositions for attacking Crown Point and at the same time the Governor of New England had assembled the troops, etc., at Boston, embarked or marched them, as most convenient, the beginning of May, under pretext of attacking

Chignecto, stopping, however, at the River Kennebeck, where the Nova Scotia old Regiments should have joined them, and together have marched to Fort Halifax, entrenched strongly, and established their grand magazine; if the troops in Pensylvania, whose early rendezvous and preparations would naturally have drawn most of the french troops from Quebec and Montreal, had begun to move in May, and after some feints, had suddenly, and by forced marches, filed off and seized the petty fort at Niagara, entrenched strongly, have seized immediately and built armed vessels, and scoured the Lake Erie, whilst some provincial seamen had done the same on the Lake Ontario, and kept open the communication between Niagara and the fort on the Lake Ontario; this enterprize, well conducted, would necessarily cut off the retreat of the French at the Ohio and moulder them away by famine and desertion.

"The different provisions and motions, feigned and real, made at Boston, New York, Pensylvania and Nova Scotia, with other attentions dictated by a just knowledge of the country and a proper use of the Indians, would conceal the real design, whilst they corresponded with its execution and by drawing the attention of the French Governor everywhere, incapacitate him from acting efficaciously anywhere.

"On the arrival of the fleet at Quebec, or in the middle of May, the troops should march from Fort Halifax and join the forces in carrying on a vigorous siege.

"Quebec, necessarily reduced and garrisoned with some New England and some old troops, the army should immediately proceed to Montreal, the reduction of which must necessarily be attended by the surrender of all other posts, as from the two former they draw their whole subsistence and munitions.

"The blow, my Lord, would have been bold, but with these provisions, no less easy than decisive in our favor, and mortal to the French, and in the rupture consequent to this stroke, the *coup de grace* be effectually given by a firm adherence to and vigorous prosecution of a naval war in all seas, soon extirpating the french naval power and commerce, and exhausting and weakening, to a great degree, her natural wealth and strength.

"France might probably act, as if she thought our weak part to lie on the european continent, and attempt to distress or divert us from the prosecution of our natural interest and use of our natural strength by an attack on our allies.

"I presume not, my Lord, to know the nature or reason or extent of our connections there; but it becomes a nation as a private person, to be tenacious of its engagements, and these might probably be well answered by our money and the force of our fleets so far as they could be useful.

"The Germanic body might not suffer, for its own sake, any of its members, or the Dutch to be long a spoil to the French: means might arise to make Prussia an acting friend; and probably Spain be induced to co-operate with us, on the terms of covering with our fleet any body of troops sent to reunite, which they are thought to have at heart,

Hispaniola to their Crown; an island of signal detriment to us in the hands of the industrious Frenchman, but of no consequence in the possession of the lazy Spaniard. The cession of the neutral Islands, or whatever France might take in the West Indies or Mediterranean, would be an easy purchase for Canada. At all events England has often taken glorious care of herself, when Scotland and Wales have been in the Enemy's scale, and could do so again, maugre the efforts of France and all her allies, whatever their malice might be, their power to hurt would soon sink never to rise more, by the loss of Canada and the destruction of their shipping.

"Your Lordship may ask why I mention not the Missisippi Colony and inlet; perhaps it would be expedient to take no further notice of them more than to prevent any considerable reinforcement from being sent thither, but not to seize them for two reasons: the first is, that no present umbrage might be given the Spaniard by so near a neighbourhood in the Mexican Gulph; the second is, that the few Inhabitants who survive their migration thither, might be permitted to open, plant, and render healthful that Country, and make it more worth capture, inevitable whenever we pleased, for the same reasons that the Inhabitants of cold have ever and ever will conquer those of hot Climates.

"A good fort, or two, at the junction of the Ohio and the Missisippi Rivers, would be sufficient to stop the Missisippians from penetrating to the northward and north-westward.

"An objection to a plan of this tendency may arise, my Lord, from the projects of independency, which a consciousness of growing strength and the annihilation of french power might give birth to, in our american colonies, and, therefore, a balance of power between the two people there might be more advantageous to the two Crowns; but besides the moral impossibility of fixing such an equality of power, by no means the aim or end of the french, an upright and steady government will always have due weight with the bulk of a people whatever be the practices of some turbulent or ambitious spirits.

"The splitting of that empire into many distinct governments, the diversity of manners, customs, modes of religion, and interests too consequent to the difference of climates, provincial laws, products, and situation inland and maritime, will render a coalition of political views not easily practicable, but create jealousies and an indifference, or rather balance, to each other's projects.

"Twenty thousand regular troops, judiciously posted, and chiefly in the conquered provinces, would guard and command the whole Country. These troops, maintained as levied at the expence of America should be triennially relieved to prevent their acquisition of any natural interest there, and all considerable posts, civil, military and ecclesiastical be invariably filled by Persons of proportionate land property in Great Britain and Ireland. Such, with other precautionary provisions, the command of the Sea, and the physical dependence, at least for many ages, that continent, from its great inequalities of seasons, lakes, etc.,

must necessarily have on this Kingdom for its woollen manufactures, would very solidly establish british dominion. Perhaps the erection of Canada into a Kingdom for Prince Edward would for ages answer that purpose, as well as be a greater, more rational and permanent accession of strength to this Kingdom and its Royal Family, than the wearing of so many crowns by the house of Bourbon, in different parts of Europe, can possibly be to that family or to France.

"But, supposing this independent spirit, in future times, to take place; the Provinces will always be glad to receive, and this nation strong enough to impose, as their head a younger son of the Royal Family; and certainly the union between two people of the same blood, religion, polity, language, laws, humour, and genius, under the same family, would be infinitely more strongly cemented and complicated than the union of states and kingdoms, dissimilar in almost each request, [respect?] nursed in and distinguished by national prejudices, can be under the dominion or influence of the Bourbon or any other family, or the combination of any conjunctures can form.

"But, my Lord, if the advantage will not allure, necessity ought, and I have, I hope, will impell us to conquer Canada; the pretensions of the French to that whole continent, though temporarily dissembled by their government, are constant and avowed by the people; and the hopes and aim of both invariably terminate in its reduction.

Their own histories of New France are histories of continued schemes, plots, enterprizes, and machinations, ministerial and private, in peace and war, concerted for the accomplishment of this great event and to facilitate which, perjuries, poisons, murders are, with them, lawful means. If Canada remains in the hands of the French they will equally, from the operation of their good and bad qualities, from the nature of things, arrive at this supreme sovereignty; and the english colonies experience the same fate which the Grecian Colonies, on the coast of Asia, underwent from the Grand Monarch of Asia; fall a prey to the grand monarch of American France: nor are the circumstances dissimilar, but in favour of the French, excepting numbers, which every day will improve. The very political independency of the provinces on each other, will quicken their dependence on the french, and the whole power and wealth of the continent become that of the foe, and be turned against Great Britain.

"Your Lordship will readily conclude that I am one of those who wish the late armament from Brest had not been permitted to sail, or to have been destroyed if they had sailed; I fervently wished it; I shall be extremely happy if I am mistaken in my belief that the arrival of that armament in Canada will be eventually productive of great mischief, unless timely redressed by a furious attack of Quebec.

"Although that reinforcement, so much wanted there, and which the french, knowing their weak part, resolved to send at all hazards, will render its reduction more difficult; yet more troops, great address in the preparation, and great resolution in the execution, which a good General

knows how to inspire, will surmount the difficulty. Whatever the capture costs of men and money the expence of both will be small to that of a defensive war and precautionary provisions, which may have little intermission, and no end, until the French be formally and really masters of that continent. The acquisition will be to us a temporary expence, instantly repaid by the fur trade and fishery; the benefit perpetual: but in the hands of the French, their american power will soon grow so strong, and take such an extended and deep root, to which a defensive war will not a little contribute, that it will prove the severest thorn in the sides of England, to extract which, millions in vain may hereafter be expended.

"I just beg leave to say a word of the navigation of the river St. Lawrence: it appears, through all the affected obscurity of the french voyage writers, and the horror which former miscarriages and ignorance has thrown on it, to be safe, though sometimes tedious; the mystery consists in timeing the Voyage and keeping the southern coast aboard, from Cape Rozier to Quebec, with due respect to some intervening shallows and islands.

"If any suggestions of mine could contribute towards a system of operations for this or any other enterprize your Lordship will always very heartily command me, as the country will my service: and if anything here said appears interesting, Your Lordship will do me particular favor in communicating it to my Lord Halifax ["Hallifax" in the print] to whom I have not the honor of being known. Your Lordship will have the goodness to consider it as flowing from a heart fervently attached to the public service, and your favorable acceptance of it may hereafter induce me to lay before Your Lordship a plan, which, in the course of some military essays occurred to me for the establishment of a marine corps, whose service, in peace and war, might possibly give satisfaction to Prince and people: certainly would be more useful than the marines now raising, who, I humbly apprehend, cannot in their present form be good soldiers, nor in any form good seamen, whatever to the contrary may be expected."

"I am, my Lord, etc.,

"J. Simcoe."

"Lord Barrington, 1st June, 1755."

Note by Sir David William Smith.—These papers of General Simcoe's were printed in 1799, by Trewmans, Exeter.

Additional Note.—Sir David's copy is bound in his volume containing the Proceedings of the House of Assembly, U. C., 1801, and the House of Assembly, L. C., February 20 to May 11, 1798 (38 Geo. III.); this volume is owned by and in the possession of Prof. J. W. Bain, of the University of Toronto. The publication is a square quarto of 18 pages: Smith's manuscript copy follows it closely—I have noted all the differences except in capitalization. In the print our present method of capitalizing gentile adjectives and writing common nouns with a small letter has been followed: Smith's method is followed in this reprint.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

BY

MR. JUSTICE RIDDELL.*

La Rochefoucault, having visited this Continent under the circumstances mentioned in the Introduction (p. 4), met Hammond,[1] the British Plenipotentiary to the United States, and was invited by him to visit Canada. The Governor-General of Canada at that time was the famous Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester,[2] and the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, Colonel John Graves Simcoe.[3]

France had never sincerely acquiesced in her expulsion from the northern part of North America. Genet,[4] the French Ambassador at Philadelphia, then the seat of government in the United States, had constantly intrigued against the continuance of British rule in Canada. To so great a length did his pernicious activity proceed that Washington was forced to demand his recall. He was succeeded in 1794 by Fauchet,[5] who did not act quite so openly, but did not omit any opportunity secretly to advance the wish of his country to be reinstated in North America. Adet,[6] who followed Fauchet after this time, was almost as open as Genet; he did not hesitate to send agents into Canada to stir up the habitants to rebellion, one of whom, David McLane,[7] was convicted of high treason and suffered the horrible penalty for that crime at Quebec in July, 1797.

A considerable proportion of the American people looked with favour on these movements; and the British Governors of Canada were forced to exercise great precaution in respect of these admitted into Canada from the United States. Accordingly Dorchester, in October, 1794, issued specific orders that no foreigner was to enter Lower Canada without his express permission—it was no secret that this was due to the conduct of certain French agents.

Mr. Hammond seems to have thought that his recommendation would be all-powerful. Whether it be the fact (as La Rochefoucault says Hammond told him) that Lord Dorchester had requested him to take it upon himself to grant passports for Lower Canada or not, he certainly acted as though such request had been made. He wrote Dorchester and Simcoe that La Rochefoucault was about to go to Canada, and recommended him to their favourable attention, at the same time assuring the Frenchman that he would have no trouble in entering or remaining in Canada.

On Sunday, June 20th, 1795, he entered Upper Canada, crossing the Niagara at Fort Erie in an English boat, his friend Guillemard[8]

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* For references, see pages 177, sqq.

having preceded him the previous evening. With him were two Frenchmen, Dupetit-Thouars[9] and de Blacon,[10] but his guide the Canadian Poudrit[11] does not seem to have come farther than the American bank of the river.

[**381**.] The strictures of Smith on the alleged mistakes in calling "a small armed vessel," "an English frigate," and the captain commanding a company, a Governor, are uncalled for. The fault, if any, is that of the translator. Much more valuable is the statement made as to the issue of paper money by private individuals and Smith's confident assertion that this was never depreciated in value. The care taken against fraudulent notes is worthy of note, and indicates the paternal government of the time. La Rochefoucault was hospitably entertained by Captain (Brevet-major) Pratt[12] of the 5th Regiment of Foot, commanding at Fort Erie, and sent by him [**388**] in care of Lieutenant Faulkner of the same Regiment on a government ship to Chippawa. There he was received with all due respect and courtesy by Captain Hamilton,[13] commandant of that post [**389**].

The Falls of Niagara were visited, and a vivid description is given of them and of the whirlpool. Saw and grist mills [**398**] above the Falls are an object of curiosity, and the traveller does not omit to mention the amount of toll taken by the miller.

The very singular and often-mentioned sulphur spring at that point is also described [**399**].

The translator makes a curious error in mistaking Newarck for New York [**400**]. The "misnomer" was not the fault of the Duke or his French printer.

Queen's Town, Queenstown, now Queenston, is reached June 22nd [**402**], the chief object of interest at which is the "very fine house built in English style" of "Mr. Hamilton, an opulent merchant." This was, of course, the Hon. Robert Hamilton, M.L.C.[14] Mrs. Simcoe[15] in her Diary says, under date Monday, July 30th, 1792: "Mr. Hamilton has a very good stone house, the back rooms overlooking on the river. A gallery, the length of the house, is a delightful covered walk both below and above, in all weather." "The Diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe," p. 127. Col. Simcoe sent Major Littlehales[16] (who Smith is careful to tell us was not his Adjutant but his Major of Brigade) to invite the party to dinner. After dinner he invited them to remain with him and consider themselves at home. The invitation was gladly accepted [**403**]. Mrs. Simcoe does not seem to have been favourably impressed with the visitors. She writes under date Monday, June 22nd, 1795: "The Duke de Liancourt arrived strongly recommended by the Duke of Portland, Mr. Hammond, etc.; therefore General Simcoe is obliged to pay every attention to him. He is attended by Mr. Gilmard, an Englishman, a French naval officer named Dupetit-Thouars, and M. de Blacons. Their appearance is perfectly democratic and dirty." Wednesday, 24th: "Monsr. Blacons returns immediately to the United States, where I hear he keeps a shop. Monsr. Dupetit-Thouars and Gilmard are going

to visit York." Monday, 29th: "The Governor took the Duke de Liancourt to see Forty-mile Creek. I dislike them all." Thursday, July 2nd: "The Governor returned . . ."

For the first time now, the Duke was made aware of Dorchester's orders of the previous October, and though he approved of these to the fullest extent as wise measures of precaution tending to avert a revolution, he was no little annoyed at Hammond for misleading him. However, he made the best of the situation and applied to Dorchester for a permit to enter Lower Canada, asking that an answer might be sent to Kingston [**404**].

A statement made by the Duke vigorously contradicted by Smith should be noticed. After saying that the two Provinces have a representative form of government, he makes the statement: "All the springs of this political machine are yet in the hands of the Governor-General." Smith says "the Government have not the power or influence to return one member to the House of Assembly to either Province"; and again, "the Government have not the power of bringing in any one member." The Frenchman was nearer to the truth than the Anglo-Canadian. The power of the Governor was such that except in times of great excitement, he could be almost certain to have a member returned whose election he sought. It is well known, for example, that Simcoe procured the election of Attorney-General John White, a complete stranger in the Province, as member of the first House of Assembly in 1792. See note [21] post.

The translator does his author grave injustice in his pretended translation of La Rochefoucault's account of the "new Constitution of Canada" [**408**]. Smith's animadversions should have been directed against the translator not the author.

"The new Constitution of Canada" was given by the Canada Act, which caused the rupture between Fox and Burke, (1791), 31 George III, cap. 31. It may be well here to note its real provisions.

Sec. 1 repeals much of the Quebec Act (1774), 14 Geo. III, cap. 83.

Sec. 2 provides for a Legislative Council and an Assembly in each of the Provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, with power to pass legislation valid when assented to by the Sovereign or the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Sovereign.

(Sections 3 to 12, inclusive, contain the provisions as to the Legislative Council.)

Sec. 3 gives power to the Sovereign to direct by Sign Manual the Governor, etc., to summon to the Legislative Council such persons not less than seven or more than fifteen as should be selected by the Sovereign.

Sec. 4 provides that no one shall be summoned to the Legislative Council under twenty-one years of age or not a British subject by birth, naturalization or conquest.

Sec. 5 makes the position of Legislative Councillor for life, subject to vacation in cases thereafter mentioned.

Sec. 6 empowers the Sovereign to annex to any hereditary title of honour in the Province, the hereditary right to sit in the Legislative Council. (This was, of course, by analogy to the House of Lords in the mother country; the power has never been exercised.)

Sec. 7 provides for forfeiture of this hereditary right.

Sec. 8 for loss of seat in the Legislative Council in certain specified cases.

Sec. 9 protects hereditary rights in certain cases of loss of seat.

Sec. 10 declares all seats and all heredity forfeited for treason.

Sec. 11 provides for determining contested rights to seats.

Sec. 12—The Governor, etc., is to appoint the Speaker.

(Sections 13 to 25 inclusive contain the provisions as to the Legislative Assembly.)

Sec. 13 empowers the Sovereign to direct the Governor, etc., to call together an Assembly.

Sec. 14—And to divide the Province into Ridings, appoint Returning Officers, etc., for an Election.

Sec. 15—The R.O.'s to hold office for not more than two years from the commencement of the Act.

Sec. 16—No one to be compelled to be R.O. more than once.

Sec. 17—The whole number of representatives not to be less than sixteen in Upper Canada or less than fifty in Lower Canada.

Secs. 18 and 19 prescribe the Writs for Election and the Return.

Sec. 20—The electorate to consist of those owning land worth not less than 40s. (Sterling) per annum in country districts; in towns £5 (Sterling), or paying rent not less than £10 (Sterling).

Sec. 21 prohibits Ministers, Priests, Ecclesiastics and Teachers of any Church, or form of religious faith or worship from sitting in the Assembly. (This provision afterwards proved troublesome to the Methodists—some of their Local Preachers were compelled to vacate the seats in the Assembly to which they had been elected.)

Sec. 22—None under twenty-one or not a British subject to be allowed to vote or be elected.

Sec. 23—And no one attainted of treason or felony.

Sec. 24—An oath for voters is provided.

Sec. 25—Eight days' notice of the time of election to be given.

Sec. 26—And due notice of the sitting of Parliament.

Sec. 27—Parliament to be called together at least once every twelve months.

Sec. 28.—All questions to be decided by a majority of votes, the Speaker of Council or Assembly to have a casting voice.

Sec. 29.—Oath for Members of Council and Assembly.

Sec. 30—The Governor, etc., authorized to withhold assent to legislation or to reserve for His Majesty's consideration.

Sec. 31—The Governor, etc., to transmit to the Secretary of State all Bills assented to; these may be disallowed by His Majesty in Council any time within two years of their receipt.

Sec. 32—Bills reserved for His Majesty's pleasure not to have any effect until approval communicated to Council and Assembly.

Sec. 33—Laws in force at the passing of the Act to continue in force until repealed.

Sec. 34—The Governor, etc., "with such Executive Council as shall be appointed by His Majesty for the affairs of such Province" to be a Court of Appeal. (This, curiously enough, is the only mention of an Executive Council in the Act except in Secs. 38 and 50. Troubles over the Executive Council, its functions, power and responsibility soon developed and continued till after the Rebellion of 1837.)

Sec. 35—Certain previous regulations, etc., in respect of the Roman Catholic clergy to continue in force.

Secs. 36 and 37—For the support, etc., "of a Protestant Clergy," land to be allotted "equal in value to the seventh part" of lands "granted by and under the authority of His Majesty."

(The celebrated Clergy Reserves of one-eighth of the ungranted lands of the Crown, not one-seventh as ordinarily supposed, since the Reserve was to be one-seventh of the land granted, i.e., one-eighth of the whole. What was "a Protestant Clergy" was soon in dispute. The Church of England claimed a monopoly of the title, but on the advice of the Law Officers of the Home Government, the Church of Scotland had its claim allowed as being an Established Church, and as Protestant as the Church of England. Other and Nonconformist Presbyterians, Methodists, and some other religious bodies which believed themselves to be Protestant Churches and to have a Protestant Clergy then advanced claims, which were more or less assented to. At length, after being for years a constant source of irritation and contention, the "Clergy Reserves" remaining were applied to education purposes.)

Sec. 38—The Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, might erect Parsonages and endow them for the Church of England,

Sec. 39—And appoint incumbents,

Sec. 40—Subject to the rights of institution, etc., of the Bishop of Nova Scotia.

Sec. 41—The provisions of Secs. 36 to 40, inclusive, to be subject to repeal or variation by the Provincial Parliament.

Sec. 42.—Certain Acts to be laid before the Imperial Parliament before receiving the Royal Assent.

Sec. 43—Land in Upper Canada to be granted in free and common soccage.

Sec. 44.—Existing grantees there may surrender their grants and receive new ones in free and common soccage.

Sec. 45—These new grants not to bar any existing right.

Sec. 46—The Imperial Parliament not to levy any tax, etc., except for the regulation of navigation, etc.

Sec. 47—All taxes levied for navigation, etc., to be applied to the use of the Province.

Sec. 48—Act to begin not later than Dec. 31st, 1791.

Sec. 49—Provincial Elections not later than Dec. 31st, 1792.

Sec. 50—In the interim, Governor and Executive Council may make temporary laws, regulations, etc.

It will be seen that while there may fairly be said to have been legislative power granted to Parliament, all executive power remained in the Governor, and neither he nor his Council was responsible to Parliament. Representative legislation there might be, but not Representative or Responsible government. The Point au Boudet mentioned in the translator's note * [**407**] is in the original Proclamation of Sept. 12th, 1791, Baudet, and is often spelled Bodet.

The Dr. Morse referred to in note † [**407**] and in note * [**382**] is Jedidiah Morse[17] the geographer. On p. 474 of his Geography he bounds Canada "North by New Britain, east by the Bay of St. Lawrence, south by Nova Scotia[18] and the United States, west by unknown lands." Of the population he says, "In 1784 a census of the inhabitants of the Province of Quebec was taken by order of Governor Haldimand, when they amounted to 113,012 English and French, exclusive of the Loyalists who have lately settled in the upper parts of the Province to the number, it is said, of 10,000" (p. 474).

[**410.**] The mistake of La Rochefoucault in supposing that Simcoe intended York (Toronto) to be the capital of Upper Canada is dealt with in Simcoe's letter to Phillips (p. 136, ante)—Simcoe always intended London to be the political capital.

In the translator's note † York is made N. by W., instead of N. by E. from Newark.

[**411.**] La Rochefoucault calls what is now known as the Grand River, "la grande rivière." The translator calls this "the Miami or Great River," then misunderstands his author and makes him say that the Thames is not far distant from this river. What La Rochefoucault says is, "This, whose source between Lakes Huron and Ontario not yet precisely known does not seem to be far from that of 'la grande rivière,' flows from the north toward the west a course of four or five (hundred) miles and empties into Lake St. Clair" (the word "cents" is omitted by a clear printer's mistake, faithfully followed by the translator). Smith castigates the Duke for the fault of Neumann, who makes precisely the same mistake of interpolation and mistranslation [**449**] with the same effect (or worse) upon Smith.

[**413.**] The hope entertained by Simcoe of drawing settlers from New Brunswick was not wholly vain. Many valuable immigrants (chiefly of United Empire Loyalist stock) came to Upper Canada—not that they could not endure the climate of that country (en trouvent le climat insupportable) perhaps, but for other reasons. It is possible that the immigration to Upper Canada in the same year as Simcoe's own arrival, of Christopher Robinson, the father of Chief Justice Robinson (who came by way of Lower Canada from New Brunswick), may have had something to do with these hopes.

[**415.**] The vast quantities of sturgeon then in Lake Ontario affording the means of rivalling Russia in the supply of caviare, should

be noticed. This fish is now almost unknown in Lake Ontario, and it seems destined to the same fate in the Lake of the Woods and some other Canadian waters. "'Tis true 'tis pity, and pity 'tis 'tis true."

[**419.**] Simcoe foresaw the Trent Valley Canal, only now approaching completion, giving direct communication between Lake Huron and the St. Lawrence River, "par la baie de Quenti." The last five words the translator omits for no apparent reason. The original does not contain these words later when speaking of the "communication between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario."

The plan of Simcoe to build "galères, galiotes à bombes, chaloupes—canonnières," at Chatham, take them down the Thames, up through Lake St. Clair and River St. Clair to Lake Huron, and thence by a canal to the Bay of Quinté and Lake Ontario is at least curious and interesting.

[**421.**] The translator more than once (as here) mistakes "lieues" for "milles"—probably in this instance from the occurrence of the word "mille" immediately before.

[**423.**] The mistake made by the traveller as to the power of Justices of the Peace to "assign" lands (donner . . . un lot de deux cents acres de terre) is corrected by Smith. The mistake is a venial one. The members of the Land Boards were all or nearly all Justices of the Peace, and their power was very great. It is not to be expected that a foreigner could distinguish between Justices sitting in the Quarter Sessions and on the Land Board.

The proceedings of these Land Boards have been printed by the Ontario Archives and will be found interesting reading.

The description given of the free grants of land in the translation is involved. What is meant is that while locatees are allowed to enter on and use the lands at once, they do not receive their patents promptly. The time during which they have not the legal title is more or less prolonged according to the will of the Council. So far as La Rochefoucault knows they do not receive before patent, the usual rights of property in the land, etc., etc. His view of the law as law is perfectly right: Smith tells us that the rigour of the law was not exacted "where the necessary improvement was made within the prescribed time or unless some trick was attempted on the Government in the true spirit of American land-jobbing." It will be seen what chances there remained of injustice, and that Smith's account of the common practice is no answer to La Rochefoucault's criticism of the law.

[**426.**] The North River, "la rivière du Nord" is the Hudson, so called by the Dutch of Manhattan in contradistinction to the Delaware which was regarded as the Southern boundary of the Dutch colony.

[**427.**] By Jay's Treaty, 1794, British subjects were at liberty to remain in Detroit after it was given up to the Americans. If they did so they were required to declare their intention to remain British subjects, and if they failed to do so within a year after the rendition of the place they were regarded as having chosen to become citizens of the United States. As Smith says, "The principal merchants who were settled in

Detroit did remove from the American to the British side" ("and," I add, "many who were not merchants"). Moreover, many of those who remained on the other shore registered their intention to remain British subjects. A list of over 120 names is to be found in Vol. 8 of the Michigan Pioneer Collections, pp. 410, 411. La Rochefoucault being then almost "a man without a country," although he records his great love for France, could not estimate at its proper value the intense love of the British for their own institutions. The same want of appreciation of the strong British feeling of Canadians has been manifested time and again by Americans—but a very small percentage of them even to-day have any conception of its power—the elemental and ineradicable determination of the Canadian to remain British.

[**423**.] The alleged hatred of Simcoe for the United States may be left to Simcoe himself to meet, as he does in his letter to Phillips (Note, p. 135, ante.) That he desired war with the United States is probably untrue; that he expected it and prepared for it is certain. But every other resident of Canada expected it also. The insensate hatred of Britain which characterized no small part of the American people made it certain (once Washington's hand was removed) that whenever it was thought success was assured, an attack would be made upon Canada. Upper Canada at least lived in daily apprehension of attack until at last it came in 1812.

The atrocious charge that Simcoe boasted of the number of houses he had fired during the Revolution he meets with spirit and truthfully.[19] Smith's strictures are wholly called for; and it is difficult to account for La Rochefoucault writing as he did.

[**431**.] The description given of Mrs. Simcoe has drawn down on the Duke much condemnation by Smith and others. I confess I do not see anything discourteous or disrespectful in it, but *de gustibus non est disputandum*. That every one may judge for himself, I give the original French, Vol. II, p. 61:

"Madame Simcoë, femme de trente-six ans, est timide, a de l'esprit, est obligeante et bonne, parle peu, est occupée de ses devoirs de mère et de femme, qu'elle pousse jusqu'à être le secrétaire de confiance de son mari; son talent pour le dessein qu' elle applique au trace des cartes, lui donne aussi le moyen de lui être très-utile."

I have no doubt La Rochefoucault thought he was complimentary to Mrs. Simcoe, and I cannot see that he was not. Bearing in mind the existing conception of a woman's place and duties, the description seems to be that of a perfect wife and mother.

[**431**.] The translator has misunderstood what was said respecting taxes. What the Duke says is this, "Upper Canada pays no taxes to England. A duty upon wine, of fourpence per gallon on Madeira, twopence on other kinds, and a licence fee of thirty-six shillings, to which has been in 1793 added another of twenty shillings currency ($4.00), are the only taxes levied in Upper Canada."

This is not quite accurate. Duties were levied upon brandy, rum, spirits, etc., under the Imperial Act of 1774, 14 George III, Cap. 88. And to these was added by the Parliament of Upper Canada in 1793, 33 George III, c. 10, the duty mentioned by La Rochefoucault of 4d. a gallon on wine the produce of the Island of Maderia, and 2d. a gallon on all other wine. The license fee required by Sec. 5 of the Imperial Act of 1774 from publicans of £1 16s. was increased by 20 shillings (this to continue to April 5th, 1797), by the Provincial Act of 1793, 33 George III, cap. 13.

In 1793 the Committee of Ways and Means in the Assembly reported in favour of a retail licence fee of £2, but finally the figure of 20 shillings, in addition to the £1 16s. of the Imperial Act, was agreed upon, the Receiver-General to be allowed to retain 3 per cent. of all money raised in this way.[20]

Even at this early day there was a conflict between the Legislative Council, composed of men of the higher class, and the Assembly, the representative of the masses. The latter desired to place most of the duty upon imported wine; the former opposed this, and desired to raise most of the required revenue from the more democratic drinks and licence fees upon stills and taverns. The full story is yet to be told—when told it will prove amusing as well as interesting.

The money raised from the tax on wine and the additional licence fee was to be made into a fund for paying the salaries of the different officers of the Legislative Council and Assembly and the contingent expenses.

[**432.**] Halifax, Quebec or Canadian currency, in which a shilling was worth 20 cents, a pound $4.00, remained in use till the middle of the 19th century. New York currency, in which a shilling (a York shilling or Yorker) was 12½ cents, a pound, $2.50, was also known in many parts of Upper Canada quite as late.

[**433.**] What the translator calls "the High Court of Judicature" (the author "la cour supérieure") was "His Majesty's Court of King's Bench for the Province of Upper Canada," instituted in 1794 by the Act 34 George III, cap. 2. The three judges were the Chief Justice of Upper Canada and two Puisne Justices. At the time of La Rochefoucault's visit the position of Chief Justice was vacant, Osgoode having gone to Lower Canada in 1794 and Elmsley not being appointed till 1796. The Court was presided over by William Dummer Powell (afterwards, in 1816, C.J.), who was "assisted" from time to time by a layman appointed temporarily, with no advantage to the Court and apparently for no purpose but to give the appointee some "honest graft." (Peter Russell was the notorious sinner in this respect.) The translator interpolates "a Court of Chancery." There was no Court of Chancery in Upper Canada till 1837, when Robert Sympson Jameson, husband of the authoress, Mrs. Anna Jameson, became Vice-Chancellor. Moreover, a Court of Chancery has no jurisdiction in cases of testaments, etc. What the author says is, "The Governor, assisted by whom he pleases,

holds court for wills, intestacies, orphans, etc." This is not strictly accurate. The Statute of 1793, 33 George III, cap. 8, provided that the Governor should preside in a Court of Probate, that he might establish a Surrogate Court in each District, presided over by a Commissioner, with an appeal lying from each Surrogate Court to the Court of Probate. This system continued till 1858, when a system in substance the same as the present was introduced by the Statute 22 Vic., cap. 93.

[**434.**] John White was our first Attorney-General. He was killed in a duel by John Small, Clerk of the Executive Council, in 1800[21]. In early times offences against the person were much more leniently dealt with by judge and jury than offences against property. In the first criminal case in Upper Canada of which the report is extant, a coloured burglar was hanged.[22]

"St. John's" is a mistranslation for "Saint John," and that a mistake for "New Johnstown." New Johnstown, now Cornwall, received its name from U. E. Loyalist settlers from the Mohawk Valley, and was called after Johnstown, the seat of Sir John Johnston in New York. By a proclamation in 1788 Lord Dorchester divided the territory afterwards to become Upper Canada into Luneburg from the eastern limit of the Province to the mouth of the Gananoque River; Mecklenburg, west to the mouth of the Trent River; Nassau, west to the extreme projection of Long Point on Lake Erie, and Hesse, west of that. These roughly corresponded to the chief settlements of the Loyalists near Cornwall, Kingston, Niagara and Detroit.

In 1792 the Act of 32 George III, cap. 8, changed the names of these Districts to Eastern, Midland, Home and Western, and directed that the gaols and court houses should be placed at New Johnstown (Cornwall), Kingston, Newark (Niagara), and for the Western District "as near to the present court house as conveniently may be" (this was at L'Assomption, now Sandwich).

La Rochefoucault has wrongly written "Saint John" for "New Johnstown," and his translator has increased the error by writing "St. John's." St. John's was a town in Lower Canada; we shall come across another misunderstanding of the same kind.

It is not the case that the division of Upper Canada into counties was purely military; and the counties were nineteen in number, not twelve. Upper Canada was divided into counties by Royal Proclamation by Simcoe, July 16th, 1792. These were:

1 Glengarry, 2 Stormont, 3 Dundas, 4 Grenville, 5 Leeds, 6 Frontenac, 7 Ontario, 8 Addington, 9 Lennox, 10 Prince Edward, 11 Hastings, 12 Northumberland, 13 Durham, 14 York, 15 Lincoln, 16 Norfolk, 17 Suffolk, 18 Essex, and 19 Kent. "Ontario" was composed of the Islands in the St. Lawrence west of the Gananoque River—our present County of Ontario had at that time few if any permanent inhabitants.

La Rochefoucault and his translator between them have rather misstated the law. The Act of 1793, 33 George III, cap. 1, provided for the Governor appointing a Lieutenant for each County and Riding—

apparently to take the place in this Province of the Lord Lieutenant of English Counties. This Lieutenant had the chief command of the Militia within his County or Riding, and had a Deputy Lieutenant to be appointed by himself with the approval of the Governor. This was the officer the translator calls "second-lieutenant," but La Rochefoucault gives him his proper title, "député-lieutenant." There was a general meeting of the Militia of each County or Riding at least once a year on the 4th June; all males capable of bearing arms from 16 to 50 were enrolled in the Militia, a fine of 20 shillings ($4) being imposed for neglect to be enrolled. For non-attendance at the annual review the fine was $8 for a commissioned officer, $2 for non-commissioned officer or man. The penalty for not turning out in time of war, rebellion or other pressing emergency was £50 ($200) for a commissioned officer (with dismissal from the service and future incapacity) and £20 ($80) for non-commissioned officer or man—in default of payment of fine, 6 to 12 months in the District gaol. A "Quaker, Menonist or Dunker" paid $4 per annum in time of peace, $20 in time of war, for his exemption.

The Act of 1794, 34 George III, cap. 7, is fairly represented in the French text and translation.

[**437**.] The gross and dangerous misrepresentations of the dealings of the government with the Indians are exposed and justly censured by Smith. But they are on a par with charges made then and till the war of 1812 by many Americans.

The "Goochland" remark refers to what the Duke writes concerning his reception at Goochland Court-House, Virginia (which he calls "Gooekland Court-House"). In Volume 5 of the French edition, p. 5, he says, "The day was Court day at Gooekland. . . . It was near nine o'clock p.m. when I arrived. . . . The company was about to break up. . . . By my manner of speaking English to the landlord, the company easily perceived that I was a Frenchman. Then all got off their horses, pulled me off mine, pressed me in their arms and exclaimed, 'You are a Frenchman. Well, you are our dear friend; we would all die for any Frenchman; we are all good republicans; we would kill all the English; that would be fine, wouldn't it? Oh, our friend, our dear friend.' And one said to another, 'He is a Frenchman, the dear good fellow is a Frenchman. Because you are French, you must drink some grog (boivez du grog) with us.' And they pressed round me, drew me this way and that, shook my hand, 'Say, what do you want us to do for you? You are our brother.'" He adds, "Their drunken enthusiasm was a little too tender, but I could not be displeased at it. I confess that it pleased me in fact." All this was followed by "une enorme terrine de grog," of which the unhappy Frenchman was forced to take his full share with toasts to the French, to France, to America, to Virginia and to La Fayette. It was with difficulty that he escaped a second bowl of grog; but he had to take in the sight of one of his American friends who had left to fight "another drunkard" and who returned to the company in full battle array, that is to say, stark naked, covered with blood from a blow that had torn away part of his ear and

another on the eye, "qu'il avait hors de la tête." The "gouger" was in evidence on that Court day at Goochland.

[**442.**] The description of the Tuscarora manner of painting the body remind one of the story told of Joseph Brant.

During his stay in London, it is said, attending a fancy-dress ball, he dressed himself, at the suggestion of Lord Moira, in the costume of his nation, the Mohawks; he wore no mask, but painted one half of his face. A Turkish diplomat gave him great attention; mistaking his red and black face for a domino, he pulled his nose, intending to remove the mask and have a look at the face beneath. Brant pretended to be greatly incensed, raised his terrifying war-whoop and brandished his tomahawk around the head of the trembling Turk. But friends came around, the joke was explained, and all was well.

[**445.**] A fairly good description of a lacrosse game.

[**447.**] Colonel John Butler [23] is one among many Loyalist soldiers venomously assailed by American writers and charged with all kinds of villainy during the Wars of the Revolution. La Rochefoucault seems to have been filled with such stories, and to have given them full credence. Hardly even now are these valorous and loyal men receiving justice.

[**450.**] Even in describing Brant's [23] dress the translator cannot be faithful, and again Smith punishes the author for the other's fault—for it would seem that Brant did not wear knee-breeches, and was at least to that extent a sansculotte.

The treaty at Greenville followed Anthony Wayne's ("Mad Anthony") victory over the Indians at Maumee Rapids (Fallen Timbers). By this treaty a very large tract of territory was ceded to the United States.

This Treaty is spoken of in a despatch from Simcoe to the Duke of Portland, July 31, 1795. The Indian tribes are there stated to be "Wyandots, Delaware, Shawanoes, Ottawas, Chipewas, Potawatimes, Miamis, Eel River, Weeas and Kickapoos." (Can. Archives Report for 1891, p. 57.)

[**451.**] Why "L'Oiseau Noir," the nickname given by the Indians to Timothy Pickering [24] is translated "maize thief" I cannot say. Of course, the black bird, the crow, is a notorious maize thief, even if the blackbird (merle) is not. Pickering had as American Commissioner concluded a treaty with the Six Nation Indians in 1791. In 1793 he was a member of a Commission (the other two being John Randolph and Benjamin Lincoln) to treat with the Indians at Sandusky. Mrs. Simcoe notes in her Diary, Sunday, May 14th, 1793, that these Commissioners were entertained at the Governor's house at Newark, pending instructions from Philadelphia, the seat of Government of the United States. Their mission was not a success.

The only son [25] of the Governor, named "Tioga" by the Mohawks, was Francis Gwillim Simcoe, born at Wolford Lodge, Devonshire, England, June 9, 1791. His mother relates that though very shy and ungracious with all his own countrymen he was very friendly with the

Indians. When Simcoe determined to build a summer residence near York, he took up a lot of 200 acres for Francis on the River Don and built the residence there which in honour of his son he called "Castle Frank." The name still continues—the place is on the west side of the Don in the north part of the present City of Toronto, on a beautiful elevation, an ideal site for a residence.

Francis when a lad wished to become a sailor and his mother approved of the wish, but ultimately in 1811 he became Lieutenant in the 27th Foot, and was killed in battle at Badajoz in April of the following year, being not yet twenty-one.

[**452, 3.**] Colonel John Smith is accurately described as lieutenant-colonel in the fifth regiment. He never became colonel, but had the rank of lieutenant-colonel only. The colonel of the regiment at this time was Sir Alured Clarke, G.C.B., who, October 25th, 1794, succeeded Hon. Edward Stopford, who had ten years before succeeded Lord Percy (afterwards Duke of Northumberland).

The absurd story of Col. Smith clearing five thousand acres is justly corrected by his son. And the annoyance of that son (who laid it out) at the comparison of the garden with a French kitchen-garden is natural if amusing. Possibly the original French would have been less offensive, "comme un potager français bien soigné."

The Slavery Act spoken of in the text is that of 1793, 33 George III, cap. 7, passed at the instance of Simcoe, the first Act of the kind in British territory and the first except one in all the world—Denmark passed her legislation a few months before. It prohibits the importation of slaves, forbids contracts of service for more than nine years, existing slaves in the Province remain such, but their children born after the Act became free at 25 years of age. This should be Simcoe's greatest title to fame; the Act could not have been passed but for his influence.

[**457.**] We have here an interesting contemporary account of the opening of a Session of Parliament. So far as is known, there is in existence no official report of the proceedings at that Session, those of 1795, 1796 and 1797 being lost.

The first Chief Justice, William Osgoode, had gone to Lower Canada in July, 1794, to become Chief Justice of that Province. His successor, John Elmsley, was not appointed November, 1796.

Smith's proposition that nearly all the members of the Assembly were in opposition, there being no such thing as a ministerial party, is interesting but illusory. There were always those who followed implicitly the wishes of the administration and those less subject to influence; it is, however, substantially true that there was not till later a well-defined party system.

[**459.**] Major Seward, of the 5th Foot, seems to be unknown to fame, but Robert Pilkington,[26] of the Royal Engineers, is mentioned more than once by Mrs. Simcoe. In September, 1793, he coasted the lake from Newark to York in two days; in March of the following year walked from Newark to York, and in May went to the Miami to

fortify the new fort which Simcoe built by order of Lord Dorchester. In February, 1796, he is mentioned as having waded across the entrance to Burlington Bay on his way from Niagara.

[**460.**] The four-day trip to Forty-mile Creek (Grimsby) is mentioned in Mrs. Simcoe's Diary, as we have seen. A picture of Green's house is given in Mr. Ross Robertson's book at p. 316.

I have not been successful in my efforts to find out more about Mr. Green; he is mentioned several times by Mrs. Simcoe.

[**462.**] La Rochefoucault says, "On y sème le bled et le seigle en Septembre," which is correctly translated, "Wheat and rye are sown in September," showing that the translator knew that "seigle" meant "rye." This makes it still more curious that he should have translated "froment," "rye" [**587**].

[**465.**] The regulations as to the practice of medicine and surgery at that time are to be found in the ordinance passed in 1788 in the old Province of Quebec. It was not till 1795 that the Province of Upper Canada passed its own Statute, 35 George III, cap. 1. At the time of this visit no person was allowed to practise without a licence from the Governor, which licence was to be granted without examination to all graduates of a British University and to all surgeons of the army or navy. All others were examined by a surgeon or surgeons appointed by the Governor.[27] But in the newer parts of the country this was to a great extent a dead letter. Anyone who pretended to medical knowledge practised without let or hindrance.

[**470.**] The Upper Canada Gazette, published at Newark, is not unfairly described in the text. There are still in existence Acts of the Legislature printed in 1793 by Louis Roy, Printer of the Gazette and Printer to His Majesty. These are very rare. The Sulpician Library in Montreal has the Statutes for 1792 and 1793 printed in 1793 by Louis Roy, which, so far as I know, is unique.[28]

[**471.**] The animosity of the Canadian Loyalists toward their former country and countrymen was undoubtedly dying down. It probably would have entirely passed away in that or the succeeding generation but for the war of 1812—a wholly useless and resultless war.

[**472.**] The extent of the Clergy Reserves was not one-seventh of all the lands, but, as we have seen, one-eighth.

[**473.**] The translator had never seen a game of lacrosse, and did not understand what was meant. Speaking of the young men Rochefoucault says that they were sitting so far as there was room, "ou debout et reposés sur leur raquette," "or standing leaning on their crosse."

[**476.**] "Intermittent fevers"—fever and ague, caused by mosquitoes. These outlaws of creation were a pest; Mrs. Simcoe was tortured by them, and Gourlay twenty years later was sent to his bed by their stings. He says that it was this illness so caused which kept him in Canada beyond the few months originally intended. If that be true, all his troubles in and after 1819 were due to these insects.

[**477.**] The visit to York of Dupetit-Thouars and Guillemard is also recorded by Mrs. Simcoe.

The "Island" did not become an Island till the 50's, when a violent storm broke through the neck of the peninsula, forming the "Eastern Gap."

[**478.**] We must regret the bad "character" the original inhabitants of Toronto are said to have had. The Duke says, "les habitans n'y sont pas, dit-on, de la meilleure espèce." And we shall have to let it go at that. But he is certainly wrong about "Batzy," "Baty," i.e., Berczy;[29] and one may be permitted to hope that he was in error as to *les autres habitans.*

[**481.**] The expectation that Canada would be severed from Great Britain has never wholly died out; "Manifest destiny" has been overworked. But never has the determination of Canadians to remain Britons been stronger, never their loyalty to their Empire more enthusiastic than now when Canada is giving up her best and her bravest to suffer and if need be to die in the world struggle for democracy and righteousness, the Armageddon, beside which all other so-called Armageddons are but as childish scuffling.

[**482, 3.**] But the Duke was a better prophet than his critic when he foresaw Spain's loss of Florida and Mexico and Portugal's of Brazil.

The commendation of Major Littlehales was well deserved—all that is known of him whether in Canada or elsewhere is most creditable.

[**483.**] The "Onondago," upon which the travellers embarked "pour aller à Kingston" (not "at Kingston," as the translator makes it), was a two-masted, square-rigged schooner (a copy of a drawing of her by Mrs. Simcoe is given on p. 211 of Mr. Ross Robertson's book).

[**484**]. M. (Ensign) Lemoine, "of the 60th Regiment," married Susannah, a daughter of Sir William Johnston and Molly Brant, sister of Joseph Brant, at St. Mark's Church, Niagara, June 5th, 1793.

The time of passage of the "Onondago" between Kingston and Newark varied, of course, with the weather. In May, 1793, she made the trip in twenty-two hours, in June, 1794, fifty hours, according to Mrs. Simcoe. (Diary, etc., pp. 162, 248.)

[**487.**] The Cadogan (also spelled Catogan) was a tress of hair held by a knot. The word was introduced into the French and English languages in the 18th century and is derived from the first Earl Cadogan, who died in 1726 (Murray, Littré).

[**489.**] Cadarakwe (the final letter generally with the acute accent) is another form of Cataraqui.

[**490.**] It was a contemptible and ungentlemanly thing to do to disclose the petty "graft" (the word was then unknown, the thing is primeval and sempiternal) of poor Lieutenant Earl, but it cannot be said that Smith's excuse for the sailor is valid.

[**498.**] The mistake in writing "Queen's Bay" for "Bay of Quenty" is that of the translator—the French is clear, "Dans la baie de Quenti."

"The middle district" is a translation of "district du Milieu," i.e., "the Midland District."

[**502**.] While there was in 1795 an Ursuline Convent in Quebec there was none in Montreal: the female orders then in Montreal were (1) Ladies of the Congregation de Notre-Dame; (2) Grey Nuns; and (3) "Les Soeurs Hospitalières de Saint-Joseph" in the Hotel-Dieu. (M. Fauteux.)

[**503**.] Another instance of carelessness on the part of the translator is found here, duly noticed by Smith as an error of the author.

[**505**.] "Mr. Steward" is, of course, the Reverend John Stuart, the first incumbent of the Church of England at Kingston.[30]

[**507**.] The shameful treatment of Loyalists in the Mohawk Valley and elsewhere in the United States is a matter of history—it cannot be either denied or justified.

[**508**.] La Rochefoucault is certainly right in saying that surgeons in the Kingston district contrived to get well paid for their trouble. The first medical case (of which the record exists) that was tried at Kingston was in the summer of 1790. In that case James Connor, a Surgeon, charged £50 ($200) for "cureing a broken leg," and it was sworn by a reputable medical man that he would charge £30 ($120) at least for each fracture for reducing it alone, and for medicine extra. Another said that the charges depended on the circumstances of the patient, say from £2 ($8) to 100 guineas ($420) for this kind of a case. He himself would think 30 guineas ($126) to be the right fee for the case. It was said but not proved that a Montreal Surgeon would charge £50 ($200) for "cureing a broken leg"; and sworn that in Upper Canada the usual fee was £10 ($40) to £70 ($280), according to circumstances. With the purchasing price of money at least twice that of the present day it cannot be said that surgeons were not liberally paid—"ils font payer cher leurs soins"—vraiment.[31]

[**510**.] Governor John Parr was Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia from 1782 till 1791, Novr. 25, dying in office at Halifax, in the 66th year of his age. "During his administration, which was upwards of nine years, the welfare and happiness of His Majesty's subjects was his invariable study and pursuit," said the official Gazette. He had been a Lieutenant at the Battle of Minden, and had risen to the rank of Colonel. He was said to be simple and parsimonious. "He has left us no indications of extraordinary ability, but seems to have been the very man to suit the time in which he acted being plain, simple and diligent."

It was during his governorship that the extraordinary charges against two Justices of the Supreme Court were made by the Assembly, December, 1787. After an investigation by the Governor and his Council the two Justices, Deschamp and Brenton, "two old gentlemen . . . both highly respected and eminently loyal," were acquitted of wrongdoing. Upon this result being reported to the Assembly, 1788, that body approved the finding by a vote of 15 to 14. In 1790, thirteen articles of impeachment were laid against them and an enquiry with witnesses held by the Assembly in support. The impeachment was

directed to be heard and determined by the King in Council; in 1792 "the Committee of H. M. Privy Council before whom the charges exhibited by the House of Assembly against the assistant judges of the Supreme Court have been heard, have reported to H. M. that after a mature consideration of the subject, they cannot find any cause of censure against those gentlemen and consequently have fully acquitted them." The Report was approved and the matter dropped.

Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," Halifax, 1867, Vol. III, pp. 6, 60, 63, 66-72, 87-92, 97, 98, 101.

Of the son I can find no account.

[**513**.] The difficulties of Brock in getting the Militia to join him on his march against Detroit and other unpleasant experiences in the War of 1812, with laggard, recalcitrant and even disloyal Canadians, lend some colour to La Rochefoucault's idea that some of the immigrants from the United States "qui passent pour être loyalistes" would assist American invaders. Smith is right, however, in intimating that the Loyalists (proper, not simply those who passed for loyal) showed their firm attachment to British connection.

[**518**.] La Rochefoucault is wrong in supposing that it is the *betula lenta* which the Indians use for their canoes and wigwams—it is the *betula papyracea*. What the translator makes into a note is partly contained in the text, viz., that the wigwams were of the bark of the *betula lenta*. In that he is in error, but in his statement that the *betula lenta* is called by (some) French-Canadians "merisier," he is apparently right. "Merisier" (properly "a cherry tree") is applied to both the "bouleau élancé" (bouleau blanc or bouleau à papier), properly the yellow but sometimes the paper birch, and the "bouleau rouge" (bouleau merisier), cherry, black or mahogany birch. The former is sometimes called "merisier blanc," the latter "merisier rouge." "Le Parler Populaire des Canadiens Français," by Dr. Dionne, Quebec, Laflamme & Proulx, 1909; Provencher "Flore Canadienne," Vol. II, pp. 547, 548.

For the use of the *betula papyracea*, see Provencher, "Flore Canadienne," Vol. II, p. 547; Moyen, "Cours de Botanique," p. 254; Lafitau, "Les Moeurs des Sauvages amériquains, comparés aux Moeurs des premiers Siécles," Paris, 1723 (12mo.), Vol. III, pp. 185 to 197. The last named author, Joseph François Lafitau (born at Bordeaux, 1670, died there 1740), was a Jesuit and for some years attached to the Jesuit missions in Canada. On his return to France he published a book on "la précieuse plante ging-sang de Tartare" (gensing), which he had found in Canada; also the work above spoken of (in two volumes 4to and four volumes 12mo), a history of Jean de Brienne, Emperor of Constantinople, and a history of Portuguese discoveries in the New World. He was very competent to speak of the habits of the Indians in Canada. He says that all the Indians used the canoe birch (i.e., the betula papyracea), with the exception of the Iroquois, who sometimes used the bark of the elm.

[**519.**] The Canadian or Indian rice is now called *zizania aquatica;* it is not an *oryza*. While *folle avoine* properly means wild oats (avéron, aveneron, *avena fatua*), the term was and (occasionally at least) still is by French-Canadians used as synonymous with *riz du Canada,* I am informed by Prof. Robitaille, Professor of Botany at Laval University, that this usage has fallen into desuetude—that now the French-Canadians apply the name "folle avoine" to the *avena fatua.* See Provencher, Flore Canadienne, Vol. II, p. 665; Moyen, "Cours de Botanique, p. 321, for the use of "folle avoine." At the time of the early settlement of Quebec the wild oat was not known in Canada, and its French name "folle avoine" was given to our wild rice zizania aquatica not wholly unlike wild oats in the grain; but the true "folle avoine" was introduced from Europe and the name was applied indifferently to both. Now the correct nomenclature has made and is making its way. It is not without interest that a well-known tribe of Indians, the Menominees, were known as "Les Folles Avoines." The wild hemp spoken of is well known in Canada.

[**521.**] "Guansignougua," where Captain Stone[32] placed his mill, is, of course, Gananoque; "Gananowui" is another of a dozen ways of spelling the word.

[**523.**] "Theakiki River," i.e., the Kankakee (it was also known as Kiakique, Teatiky, Theahiki).

The enormous difficulties of the fur trade and of internal communication on the continent are now a matter of history. It is, however, interesting to read how immigrants made their way to "the Illinois."[33].

The translator is again wrong, the author right, the Ottawa River was long called the Grand River. Another Grand River, still so called in the peninsula, Simcoe gave the name of the Ouse[34]; but the name did not stick, it had the same fate as the name Newark which he gave to Niagara.

[**524.**] "Roe" Lake is a misprint for "Rice" Lake, i.e., Lake Puckaway.

[**525.**] The English generally sold rum to the Indians, the French brandy—many were the exhortations of the traders of the two nations against the evil effects of the "firewater" of the other; and both were right.

[**526.**] "Mr. Tode" may possibly be Mr. James Tod, Member of House of Assembly in Lower Canada, 1792-1796. Desjardins "Guide parlementaire historique de la Province de Quebec," p. 126 (M. Fauteux). It is I think more likely that this was Mr. Isaac Todd, a merchant at Montreal, who got into trouble some years later (1806). See Kingsford's History of Canada, Vol. VII, p. 501.

Isaac Todd was a prominent merchant of Montreal, a member of the firm of Todd & McGill who did a large outfitting business for the North-West (McGill, his partner, was the Hon. James McGill, the substantial founder of McGill University). There are many references to him in the Wis. Hist. Coll. See Index, p. 514.

[**527.**] The Treaty between Spain and the United States was concluded October 27, 1795, ratifications exchanged April 21, 1796, and the Treaty proclaimed August 2, 1796. It will be found at full length in the official "Treaties and Conventions concluded between the United States of America and other Powers since July 4, 1776," published by the American Government, 1889, at pp. 1006-1014. By Article IV., His Catholic Majesty agreed that the navigation of the Mississippi in its whole breadth from its source to the ocean shall be free only to his own subjects and the citizens of the United States unless he should extend this privilege to others by special convention.

[**528.**] The absurd suggestion that Lord Dorchester might have been influenced by a secretary or a mistress (!) is unworthy: it is hard to account for it—the suspicion that a French priest was at the bottom of it is quite characteristic. Although an emigré (at least in one sense) himself, La Rochefoucault had enough of the spirit of Revolutionary France to hate the priesthood, generally more loyal to the King than himself. Why any French priest should have a grudge against him does not appear.

There is no indication from any source that Lord Dorchester had become weak of intellect (*radoteur*), and he was the last man in the world to be influenced by secretary or anyone else, man or woman. If the manner in which the Duke had been received—willingly and delightedly on his part, at Goochland and elsewhere in the United States—came to the knowledge of the Governor-General—and that is not at all unlikely—he had ample reason for the exclusion of a Frenchman so ardent a friend of the United States.

[**530.**] Oswego was given up to the Americans the following year under Jay's Treaty.

[**532.**] The French hatred of Pitt then and for long after was as intense and indeed as well founded as that at present of another people seeking world-power for Grey. The cry was that England might have prevented the outbreak of the continental war then just as it is now a cry that she might have done so in 1914; England then used other peoples as her tools, as she does to-day:

> No rogue e'er felt the halter draw
> With good opinion of the law;

and always those who desire mastery of the world will rail at a nation which will not submit.

Perhaps the height of folly and absurity is reached in the charge that the French marine corps was sent to their doom at Quiberon by the treason of a political party, for fear that the French navy might be re-established and the supremacy of the British fleet challenged. That fleet could and can take excellent care of itself.

The extraordinary Battle of Quiberon (1759), fought in the dark one autumn evening among dangerous rocks, in a severe gale and on a lee shore, was one of the glories of the British Navy and of Ad-

miral Hawke. Though the French suffered defeat, so severe, indeed, that their Navy remained quiescent for nearly four years, they suffered no dishonour, but gave a good account of themselves.

The Duke cannot refrain from casting a slur upon the Revolutionist, Robespierre, hardly cold in his grave—he died in 1794—by intimating his belief in an utterly baseless charge which was made in turn against every man of prominence in France in that bloody and turbulent time. La Rochefoucault himself did not escape the same charge, and his life gave much more ground for it than that of Robespierre. It is probable that no one hated the Duke with the intensity which characterized the hatred toward Robespierre of the Dantonists and the Hébertists; and, moreover, he was by no means of the prominence of Robespierre.

General Haldiman was, of course, General Frederick Haldimand[35].

[**535**] The interesting young man Mac-Donnall (which the translator renders Mac-Donald) was Angus Macdonell (of the Aberchalder family); his brothers were Colonel John Macdonell and Hugh Macdonell. The Speaker of the first House of Assembly was John Macdonell[36].

[**540**] The value of the Louis d'or was £1 2s. 6d. by Statute of 1795, 35 George III., Cap. 1, the Upper Canadian Statute.

The "South Sea" "la mer du Sud" *toward* (vers) not *to* which Mackenzie[37] took some French-Canadians, we know as the Pacific Ocean. Sir Alexander Mackenzie in 1789 went from Fort Chippewayan along the Great Slave Lake down the Mackenzie river (called after him) to the Arctic Ocean; in 1792 and 1793 from Fort Chippewayan, he crossed the Rockies to the Pacific Ocean near Cape Menzies.

[**542.**] The silly affectation which caused the change of the names of places was as marked in Upper as in Lower Canada—Toronto became York; Niagara, Newark; Frontenac or Cataraqui, Kingston; the La Tranche, the Thames; the Grand River, the Ouse; L'Assomption, Sandwich; Ganaraska, Port Hope, etc., etc. (See note [34].)

[**553.**] "Bonduc" is defined by Littré, "abrisseau epineux à fleurs leguminenses qui croît aux Indes (Guilandia bonducella)." The generic name is generally given as Guilandina. "Bonduc" is also used in English instead of its English equivalent "nickar-tree" or "nicker-tree"—the specific name is given as Bonduc or Bonducella. Maria Riddell in her "Voyage to Madeira" (1792) speaks of a "Guilandina moringa or yellow-nickar." But La Rochefoucault does not mean that tropical plant.

The "Bonduc que les Canadiens appellent *bois chicot*" is apparently the "coffee-tree," Gymnocladus Canadensis of Lamarck, the "Chicot du Canada" (see Provencher, Flore Canadienne, Vol. I, p. 157). Macoun, "Catalogue of Canadian Plants," Vol. I, p. 123, gives this as growing very large at the north end of Pelee Island; also near Niagara, and two large trees close to Rideau Hall, Ottawa, p. 512, also abundant at Point Penetanguishene, Ontario. It is sometimes called Guilandia dioica. Provencher loc. cit.—this writer gives the habitat as "lords des

lacs Erié et Ontario, aussi à l'Isle Jesus." The translator takes it for one or other of the buckeyes or chestnuts.

"Le ecoomanthus ou bourreau des arbres" is, I think, not the five-leaved ivy (Virginia creeper, Ampelopsis quinquefolia) as the translator thinks. The name "bourreau des arbres" is given in French to several plants with winding stem which injure trees, amongst them the "célastre grimpant," Celastrus scandens, or climbing bittersweet. This is closely allied botanically with the Euonymus, and it may be that ecoomanthus is a misprint for the word euonymus. Ecoomanthus I can find no trace of. Our climbing bittersweet or waxwork has beautiful berry-like pods in autumn and it sometimes does harm trees. The Virginia creeper climbs trees but does not closely entwine them like the celastrus, and although it does have "grappes vertes," it can scarcely be called "bourreau des arbres." Provencher gives as the common French-Canadian name of the C. scandens, "bourreau des arbres"—that of the Virginia creeper, "vigne-vierge," Vol. I, pp. 124, 111.

"Ragoumimex" the translator has rightly corrected into "ragouminier," which is good French for minel or minel du Canada, "nom donné au cerisier Canadien appelé aussi dans son pays nega," as Littré has it. (Another form is "ragoumier.") The Canadian cherry is the Cerasus Canadensis, Prunus borealis, wild red cherry, bird cherry or more probably the Prunus serotina—or perhaps the dwarf cherry, "sand cherry," "cerisier nain du Canada" (Prunus or Cerasus pumila); Provencher, Flore Canadienne, Vol. I, p. 166 (see General Remarks at p. 188, post).

"Le bouleau noir" is the "betula lenta," the sweet, black, or cherry birch.

What the traveller means by "frangier" I do not know—the word is unknown to Littré and our Canadian botanists. The translator calls it the "papaw." The papaw is the Asimina of several species, and while growing west and south, the species triloba is indigenous in Canada: it is found near Queenston Heights, on Point Pelee and in the Townships on the Lake between Point Pelee and Amhersburgh, Macoun, Vol. I, p. 29; Dr. Dearness, of London, informs me it is indigenous in Essex County.

It has occurred to me that by "frangier," La Rochefoucault may mean the fringe-tree (Chionanthus Virginica) which Provencher, Vol. II, p. 389, says "reussisant difficilement sous le climat de Québec." I have not seen it so far north. (See General Remarks on p. 553, at p. 188, post.)

"Magnolia," translated "cucumber tree." Some of the magnolias are called "cucumber-trees" from the appearance of the young fruit. These are the Magnolia acuminata and the Magnolia cordata: the latter is found even in New England, the former in New York State, in the west and south. But there are several species of magnolias not called "cucumber-trees" but "umbrella-trees." None of these, it is said, is native as far north as Canada, nor is the great-flowered magnolia or the sweet magnolia, but Provencher, Flore Canadienne, Vol. I, p. 21,

gives the Magnolia acuminata, a cucumber tree, as occurring near the Falls of Niagara.

Ginseng, the Aralia quinquefolia, has been very common in parts of Upper Canada and is generally exported to China, although still a household remedy in some places.

The "capillaire," translated "maidenhair," is not, as the translator thinks, the Adiantum (not Adianthum) Capillus-veneris or Venus-hair—that is a southern plant and found only in conservatories in the north—but the Adiantum pedatum, our maiden-hair, capillaire du Canada, native in our shady woods. Its medicinal properties are probably the same as those of the A. Capillus-veneris, Capillaire du Montpellier, which is used as an expectorant and in pulmonary catarrh. The Thomsonian physicians do not seem to have discovered the virtues of maidenhair, although they used the betula, the celastrus and the ginseng mentioned by La Rochefoucault. Formius had the same opinion of adiantum as a cure-all as Thomson had of lobelia or Joe Pye of "Joe Pye Weed," (Eupatorium purpureum).

[**555**.] The translator first mistranslates "Johnstown", "St. John's" and then corrects the author for his own mistake—it was New Johnstown (Cornwall) which was the "capitale du district inférieur du Haut Canada," "district town of the lower district (the Eastern, formerly the Luneburg, District) of Upper Canada."

[**556**.] Within living memory stable manure has been dumped upon the ice of the Ottawa River, near Ottawa, as well as in the St. Lawrence.

[**557**.] "M. Fouzé," whom the translator calls "Mr. Touzy," was the Reverend Mr. Toosey (called "Tosey" by Mrs. Simcoe, p. 58), mentioned in the Quebec Almanac as far back as 1788 as Anglican Minister of Quebec. In the Quebec Almanac of 1792 he is styled Commissary for Lower Canada and English Minister at Quebec. He was licensed by the Rt. Rev. Charles Inglis, first Bishop of Nova Scotia, August 8, 1789, and seems to have lived two miles from the town. He died about October, 1797. The Canadian Archives Report for 1913 has several memoranda concerning Mr. Toosey from the journals of Dr. Inglis (see p. 236, 237, 239, 240, 241); his death is referred to in Can. Arch. Report, 1891, at p. 159. He was succeeded as "Minister of the Protestant Church at Quebec" by Rev. Salter Mountain, nephew of Bishop Mountain.

[**562**.] After the death of Father Well in 1791, Father Casot was the sole surviving Jesuit—he was among the few Jesuits ordained in 1766 to perpetuate the Order. He had been a lay brother, and the charge that he was a "faux moine usurpateur" was made against him by Roubaud, his former colleague, who turned Protestant[38].

Bishop Charles Inglis tells us, under date June 19, 1789 (Can. Arch. Rep., 1913, p. 237), that Lord Dorchester "disapproves of grant of Jesuits' estates to Lord Amherst and agrees that it should be appropriated for a university. It amounts to between £1,000 and £2,000 per annum."

I can find no reason to suppose that it was Dorchester's dislike to Amherst which caused him to leave the Jesuits' estates in the hands of Father Casot, but no doubt that was part of the gossip of the day. The Lower Canadian Parliament was very strongly opposed to the grant to Lord Amherst, and it was considered a gross outrage that one person, however exalted and meritorious, should receive these properties, some of the best in the Province.

"As to the Recollets, there were more than two at the time of La Rochefoucault's travels in 1795. The convent of the Recollets, at Quebec, was burned down the 14th of September, 1796, and it was this event which led to the secularization of the Order in the same year. At the time of the fire, there were in the convent at least fifteen Recollet brothers. But outside the brothers, there were in the same time in Lower Canada at least five Recollet friars or priests. They were Father Carpentier, who died in 1798; Father Petrimoulx, who died in 1799; Father Dugast, who died in 1804; Father de Berey, who died in 1800; and Father Demers, who died in 1813, the last surviving priest of his order in Canada. Perhaps we might add Father Veyssière, who died in 1800, but in 1795, he had left the Order since a long time and was a Protestant minister at Three-Rivers."[39]

[**563.**] The translator, in speaking of the "priests of St. Sulpice," leaves out the words "de Paris." The fact is that "the Sulpicians established in Montreal never had anything to do with the Seminary of Quebec. The latter institution was under the direction of the Seminaire des Missions étrangères de Paris."[39]

[**565.**] The tenure of land under the old régime was not suited to a democratic people, but the "Seigneurial Tenure," as it was called, did not disappear till 1854. It may be interesting to add here an account given of it and of the Canadians of the olden time by myself in an address before the Canadian Club of Toronto, Nov. 6th, 1911, on the "Constitutional History of Canada."

"The country was governed on feudal principles. In the country were the nobility—the noblesse—the seigniors who owned the land; they paid homage to the King, and had under them the peasants ('habitants' as they called themselves) to whom they leased land to be held on much the same terms as the lands were held by the peasantry in France. This seigniorial tenure was introduced substantially by Richelieu in 1627.

Not only did a Seignior when he succeeded to his estate pay homage to the King or other, his feudal superior, but when he sold or transferred his seigniory he was obliged to pay a part, usually (at least in theory) a fifth part, of the purchase money to such superior. He also had the glorious privilege of being eligible to be appointed a member of the Superior Council—if the authorities saw fit—he might also have a commission in the militia—for in time of war all the inhabitants of Canada might be called upon to do service in the army under the Governor or other commander. Very often he did not own his land in the fullest

sense—frequently the Crown reserved mines, minerals, oak-timber and masts for ship-building, such lands as might be required for military purposes, and the like.

The Seigniors had in theory the right of dispensing justice, but that right was exercised by very few, and very seldom even by them.

The habitant as 'censitaire' (tenant) was under many feudal obligations familiar to readers of Blackstone—for example, he was bound to take his grain to be ground at the Seignior's mill, and to pay for such grinding. If he went to another mill, that did not relieve him from paying his Seignior all the same. If a habitant, being the feudal inferior, desired to dispose of the land which he held, he was obliged to pay a substantial part of the purchase money to the Seignior; and worse, the Seignior might himself take the land within forty days of the sale. He was liable to the corvée, or forced labour, for his Seignior, as in France; he must give the Seignior one fish out of every dozen of those caught in Seigniorial waters. Wood and stone might be taken from his land by the Seignior to build or rēpair manor-house, church or mill. . . . But they all loved Canada—'O Canada, mon pays, mes amours'—as their descendants do still—and no one can understand the depth of that devotion who has not mingled with 'les Canadiens.'

They were free, bold and adventurous, frugal, industrious and moral; and made the very best of soldiers for the kind of country in which they were called upon to fight.

Next to, if not indeed sometimes above the Seignior, was the Curé—sometimes the only one in a Seigniory except (or possibly not even excepting) the Seignior who could read and write. The essentially religious character of the French-Canadian is seen in the high place the Curé held in his regard—a place which is little lower now than it was a century and a half ago. Indeed it has been said that the Canadian Curé exercised in Canada, the power in France of the King, the noble and the priest.

But neither priest nor peasant had any part in making the laws by which they both were governed; their government was arbitrary and military; they were accustomed to obey their superiors—and anything more unlike a constitution in our latter day sense than was the mode of government of that happy and fearless primitive people it would be hard to find."

[**566.**] The administration of justice was not at this time the same in Lower Canada as it was in Upper Canada. In the previous year, in Upper Canada the one Court of King's Bench having jurisdiction over the whole Province and sitting in Term at the Capital had been substituted as the sole Superior Court for the four local Courts of Common Pleas. In Lower Canada the former system continued.

In Reaumur's thermometer, still used in some countries, the freezing point of water is 0°, the boiling point of water 80°—in our common (Fahrenheit) thermometer the freezing and the boiling points are 32° and 212° respectively—in the Centigrade thermometer used every-

where in scientific investigations and in many European countries generally, they are 0° and 100° respectively.

As is stated in the note, 24° Reaumur = 86° Fahrenheit 28° Reaumur = 95° Fahrenheit; this temperature is a little high, but not without precedent in either Montreal or Toronto.[40]

[**567**.] M. Fauteux shows that it is an error to say that the library at that time in Quebec, "est petite et généralement composée de livres français." The Catalogue published in 1796 shows English books 811, French 1001 in number.[41]

The statement of La Rochefoucault that hardly a single book had been printed in Quebec is correct *sub modo*—there are not many, but the translator is quite wrong in saying that there was none.[42]

[**568**.] Smith corrects "Knott" into "North."

[**569**.] The characterization of the priesthood (which is omitted by the translator but which I have supplied) has called out much unfavourable comment by French-Canadians and others—comment, in my view, as just as it is unfavourable.

In that respect, I quote from a letter of Prof. Arthur Robitaille, Professor of Botany in Laval University; we can approve his every word, both as to the priests and as to the other French-Canadians.

"M'autorisant de la permission que vous m'avez accordée de vous proposer quelques remarques, si la chose me convenait, je me permettrai de vous affirmer, en toute sincérité, que La Rochefoucault n'est pas considéré comme un historien impartial: vous admettrez, sans peine, que ce n'est pas en passant dans un pays, en amassant, au hasard, certains détails, qu'on peut apprécier, à sa juste valeur, un peuple; les renseignements qu'il donne sur le peuple et le clergé canadien-français ne sont pas sérieux et des études plus approfondies, faites par des historiens modernes très au fait de la question, ont prouvé clairement l'inanité des conclusions de La Rochefoucault.

En effet, le peuple canadien a su être apprecié, à sa juste valeur, par les Gouverneurs Anglais, qui vinrent en Canada avec autre chose que des préjugés, et aussi par les historiens anglais. Et ceux-ci étaient, pour connaître et juger, plus à portée que ce Noble français, qui n'a fait que passer et dont l'esprit était imbu des préjugés qui poussaient la Noblesse française du temps de Louis XVI à regarder la plèbe comme une classe sociale inférieure à tous les égards.

Et le clergé canadien a-t'il eu en partage la déloyauté que ce monsieur lui attribue? Je n'en veux prendre qu'un seul exemple. En 1775, grâce á ce clergé si injustement calomnié, le peuple canadien, qui l'aimait, se laissa persuader et resta fidèle à la couronne britanique, et ils ne furent pas écoutés dans la campagne canadienne, ces appels vers l'indépendance; ces appels si souvent répétés par les voisins des Etats-Unis. Ce fait, et bien d'autres que vous connaissez, suffisent abondamment à montrer que le tableau, que ce passant a voulu tracer du peuple et du clergé canadiens, ne donne, en aucune façon, une idéa juste et impartiale des Canadiens-Français de la fin du XVIII° siècle."

"Availing myself of your permission to make such remarks as I should wish, I state in all sincerity that La Rochefoucault is not considered an impartial historian. You would readily agree that it is impossible to appreciate at their true value a people, by simply passing through their country and gathering a few chance details. What he reports of the French-Canadian people and clergy is not reliable, and the more profound investigations made by modern historians, thoroughly versed in the matter, have clearly proved the conclusions of La Rochefoucault wholly worthless.

In truth, the French-Canadian people have been appreciated at their true value by English Governors, who came to Canada with something other than prejudice, and by English historians. And did the Canadian clergy exhibit the disloyalty attributed to them by this gentleman? I give only one example. In 1775, thanks to the clergy so unjustly calumniated, the Canadian people who loved the clergy, hearkened to their persuasion and remained faithful to the British Crown; in the Canadian campaign they did not listen to the appeals toward independence so often repeated by their neighbours of the United States. This fact and many others which you know are abundantly sufficient to show that the picture which that passing traveller has painted of the French-Canadian people and clergy gives in no wise a just and impartial idea of the French-Canadians toward the end of the 18th century."

It should, however, in fairness, be said, that La Rochefoucault, in speaking of Lower Canada, did not pretend to speak with knowledge at first hand. He had to rely upon information received from Guillemard (an English Huguenot) and others. There is no difficulty in producing statements made about that time by English-speaking persons concerning the French-Canadian people and clergy quite as severe as anything La Rochefoucault says—and more so. Nor are these statements confined to the 18th century; racial and religious prejudice dies hard.

However, it must be admitted the French-Canadians have always been and are abundantly able to take care of themselves.

[**571.**] Kadanoghqui—Gananoque.

[**574.**] Wolfslove—Wolfe's Cove.

[**575.**] The author and the translator between them have made the places of origin of the furs rather obscure.[43]

[**576.**] The Northwest Company and Frobisher and MacTavish were well-known at the time throughout Canada.[44]

[**579.**] "Descend the river Utacoha"—"remontant la rivière Utacoha"—the last word a misprint for "Utawa," i.e., the Ottawa.

[**584.**] The livre was 20 sols (sous); by the Upper Canadian Act of 1795, 35 George III, cap. 1, the value of the livre Tournois was fixed at 11 1-9 pence (Canadian or Halifax currency), i.e., almost exactly 18½ cents of our present money.

[**587**.] In the table of exports there are several mistakes on the part of the translator. "Froment" "wheat" he calls "rye." "Capillaire" he properly translates "maiden-hair," but adds the wrong species wrongly spelled—the "maiden-hair" here referred to is the Canadian maiden-hair, Adiantum pedatum. "Ginseng" for some reason he calls "Cast-iron." "Shookeasles" are no doubt "cask-shooks," i.e., staves, etc., for casks. "Banala" is not found in Littré or Murray and I cannot guess at its meaning.

[**589**.] He calls "chats musqués," "castors" instead of "musk-rats." Possibly "Tigres," "Tygers" are "tigres marins," "sea lions," but the term "tigre" is applied to several fierce American animals such as the jaguar, the cougar and the chatpard or mountain-cat—it is much more likely that one of these is meant, probably the cougar.

The spelling "oursins" instead of "oursons" in the original may be noticed—the former now means "sea urchins," the latter "bear cubs."

What the author means by "open-cat" and "closed-cat" I do not know—perhaps the translator has hit upon the true meaning.

[**591**.] Of Count Andriani, Chester Martin, in his recent work, "Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada," Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1916, at p. 17, says:—

"It was in Switzerland in 1794 that acquaintance began with Count Andriani, the traveller, who was probably the first to direct Douglas's attention to the promise of the New World." A reference is made to MSS. Correspondence of Dunbar, Earl of Selkirk, and his sons, in the possession of Captain Hope, St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright, Scotland.

Andriani is also mentioned by Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites in his "Long's Voyages," apparently, however, quoting La Rochefoucault, and also in the Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XI, p. 125 n, explicitly quoting La Rochefoucault.[45]

REFERENCE NOTES.

[1]George Hammond, 1763-1853, born at Kirk Ella, East Yorkshire, educated at Oxford, went to Paris in 1783 as Secretary to David Hartley, Jr., one of the Peace Commissioners; 1788 to 1790, Chargé d'Affaires at Vienna; 1790 at Copenhagen and then to Madrid. In 1791 sent as Minister Plenipotentiary to Philadelphia (then Capital of the United States), the first British Minister there accredited. He married a Philadelphia lady, and was very popular until he insisted on the rights of the Loyalists. In 1795 he became Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs and had important missions to Berlin and Vienna. He retired in 1806, resumed his position in 1807, and finally resigned in 1809, after the Walcheren disaster. He rendered public service thereafter as arbitrator, etc., and died 1853.

There seems to have been some misunderstanding between him and Dorchester, on the subject of admitting aliens to Lower Canada, or possibly Dorchester was led by circumstances to change his mind. In any case, Dorchester was the ultimate authority as to such admissions; and the condition of Lower Canada, and the machinations of the French agents and sympathizers were such as to call for great caution. At the present time, it is not apparent that there would have been any danger in admitting La Rochefoucault but we do not know all the facts—Smith's suspicions, however, seem groundless. Dorchester's despatch to the Duke of Portland, July 25, 1795 (Dom. Arch. Rep. 1891, p. 106) gives no reasons: he asks that no more emigrants be allowed to come from the West Indies to Quebec. "Where they must be a burden and in which their presence may be pregnant with dangerous effect."

[2]Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester, 1724-1808, born at Strabane, joined the army at the age of 18, took part in the conquest of Quebec, 1759, in 1766 appointed Lieutenant-Governor and 1767 Governor-General of Quebec. He left Quebec in 1770, but was reappointed in 1775. In Montreal, at the time of the investment of Quebec by Arnold, he made his way to the latter city, passing through the enemy's lines in a whaleboat, disguised as a fisherman. His successful defence of Quebec put an end to the hope of the Revolutionists to add a fourteenth colony to their federation. In 1778 he was succeeded by Haldimand (see note [55] post), and after valuable service in the American wars he was again appointed Governor-General in 1786. From 1791 to 1793 he was absent from Canada, but returned in September of the latter year, finally retiring in 1796.

He was a man of marked ability and scrupulous integrity. His knowledge of human nature and sympathy with men of all ranks and countries made him an exceedingly valuable governor. Had there been more like Carleton the course of history on this continent might have been materially different; and it is not too much to say that it is chiefly to him that the credit is due of keeping Canada under the British flag.

[3]John Graves Simcoe (1752-1806), born at Cotterstock, Northamptonshire, son of Captain John Simcoe (R.N.), who was killed at Quebec, 1759. Educated at Eton, he entered the army at the age of nineteen, fought through the American Revolutionary war, taken prisoner he narrowly escaped with his life. Exchanged, he rejoined the army and was among those surrendered by Cornwallis in 1781. He then went to England, was returned to the House of Commons and in 1791-2 became first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. The legislation during his regime is reviewed and discussed in a series of articles in the *Canadian Law Times* for 1913, "Some Early Legislation and Legislators in Upper Canada" (33 Can. L. T., 22, 96, 180). He returned to England in 1794 and was appointed Commandant of San Domingo. He went to England in 1797, and in 1806 was appointed Commander-in-Chief in India. He never went to India, however, but died in 1806 at Torbay. His career and character are fairly portrayed in his Life by the late D. B. Read, Q.C.

His services in the American wars are minutely set out in a volume which he had privately printed at Exeter in 1787. The title is "A / Journal / of the / Operations / of / the Queen's Rangers / from / the end of the year 1777 / to the / Conclusion of the late American War./ By Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe, / Commander of that Corps. / Exeter, Printed for the Author." 4to., pp. v. 1 to 184 with 48 pages of appendix. The quarto edition is very rare; most of the copies are the treasured possession of the descendants of Simcoe's officers—the copy I have used is the property of Mr. Æmilius Jarvis, Toronto; it is beautifully bound in contemporary calf, and printed on excellent paper. But an enterprising firm of publishers in New York issued an octavo edition in 1844 which is rather common, copies being occasionally offered for sale. "Simcoe's Military Journal / A History of the Operations / of a / Partizan Corps /called / the Queen's Rangers, / Commanded by Lieut.-Col. J. G. Simcoe, / during the War of the American Revolution. / Illustrated by ten engraved plans of actions, etc. / Now first published / with / A Memoir of the Author / and Other Additions, / New York: / Bartlett & Welford, / 1844." Cloth, 8vo., pp. xvii + 14 to 328. (A copy is in the Osgoode Hall Library.)

Simcoe in his dignified letter to Phillips, confidently appeals to his record as refuting the calumny of La Rochefoucault in respect of boasting about burning houses during the Revolutionary war—the episode he cites is to be found in p. 42 (I cite the octavo edition as being more easily procurable). On pp. 40, 41, it is related that Simcoe threatened the wife of a franc-tireur to burn her husband's house (to deter others) if it were shown that he had shot at some British boats from ambush. But the proof failed and the house was not fired. On pp. 115, 116, he is said to have told certain women to inform some four or five people who were lurking on his rear "that if they fired another shot he would burn every house which he passed." A man or two had been wounded, but the threat seems to have been effective.

Simcoe was taken prisoner after his horse had been shot under him (pp. 116-117). A boy was about to bayonet him as he lay insensible, but was prevented by one Marineer, a refugee from New York, in command of the detachment, who said, "Let him alone, the rascal is dead enough"; another person regretted that he had not shot him through the head, which he would have done had he known him to be a colonel, but he thought "all colonels wore lace" (p. 264).

In December, 1782, the Queen's Rangers, cavalry and infantry, were honourably enrolled in the British Army. At the Peace, the regiment was disbanded and most of the officers received land in the loyal provinces. The charge that Simcoe desired war with United States is almost wholly due to La Rochefoucault—whether there was an honest misunderstanding cannot now be determined. There is nothing in Simcoe's long and active public life to indicate that he had any such wish.

[4] Genet—Edmond Charles Genest (or as generally written in English, Genet), 1765-1834, born in Versailles, showed Republican opinions at an early age. Being appointed Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburg in 1789, he became distasteful to that court. Returning to France he was appointed Ambassador to Holland, but before he could go there he was appointed Minister to the United States in 1792. Received everywhere with enthusiasm he seems to have lost his head. He began and continued a course of conduct most irritating to Washington and wholly contrary to the rules of international law, and even to a decent regard for the country to which he had come. He openly maintained that it was the duty of the United States to side with France against Britain; he fitted out privateers at Charleston to cruise against nations at peace with the United States, and seemed to think the United States a mere adjunct to France. Ultimately, Washington could stand him no longer and demanded his recall.

Genet, on being recalled did not return to France but settled in the State of New York, became naturalized and married an American lady, the daughter of George Clinton, dying at Schodack, Rensselaer County, New York State.

[5] Fauchet, his successor, was almost equally noxious, but seems to have restricted his efforts to New Orleans. He did not remain long, giving place to Adet.

[6] Pierre Auguste Adet, 1763-1832, born in Nevers, France, sent by the Directory to the United States as Minister Plenipotentiary in 1795; he was continually thereafter a thorn in the side of the American administration, endeavouring to force the country to take the side of France. Before his return on his recall in 1796, he issued an inflammatory address to the people of the United States. During most of his stay in the United States he was engaged in intrigue against British rule in Lower Canada. After his return to France he adhered to Napoleon, but attained no eminence. An able chemist, he invented a very curious system of chemical signs which had no great vogue and is now quite forgotten. Kingsford, Hist. Can., Vol. xii, pp. 441, sqq., has some reference to this Frenchman. See also my paper, Roy. Society of Canada, 1916, "The Trial of David McLane" and note[7] post.

[7] David McLane (the name is variously spelled), born in Boston, afterwards in business in Providence, Rhode Island, was apparently employed by Adet to raise disaffection in Lower Canada. At all events, he did try to do this. Being apprehended, he was tried at Quebec for High Treason and convicted July 7th, 1797, the first trial for this offence on this continent. He was drawn to the place of execution on the glacis of Quebec upon a hurdle, July 21st, hanged, cut down, beheaded, part of his bowels burned and nicks cut in the four quarters of his body with a knife, symbolical of the quartering to which he had been sentenced. See my paper on this trial in the Roy. Soc. Canada's Transactions, 1916.

[8] Guillemard, was a young Englishman of Huguenot descent, amiable, intelligent, pleasant, good company and fond of travel. He had come to America solely from the love of travel and not to make money. He was well-off and did not require any access of fortune. La Rochefoucault congratulates himself on finding such a travelling companion. It will be seen that La Rochefoucault depended to some extent upon Guillemard for his information concerning Lower Canada; it is not unlikely that Guillemard's Huguenot extraction led him to do some injustice to the French-Canadian priesthood.

[9] Dupetit-Thouars, a naval officer, has been spoken of already in the Introduction, q.v. p. 7, ante.

[10] De Blacons has also been there spoken of. Mrs. Simcoe was informed that he kept a shop in the United States and this information was quite correct; he kept a haberdasher's shop in partnership with another French immigrant.

[11] Poudrit was a French-Canadian who had married an Indian wife; one Mr. Chipping had supplied him as a guide to La Rochefoucault, giving at the same time the erroneous information that Poudrit had adopted Indian customs in their entirety—"pour suivre une squawh (c'est le nom des femmes indiennes) dont il était amoreux." However, he seems to have guided the travellers satisfactorily over and through the deserts of Western New York.

[12] Captain Pratt does not seem to have taken any active part in public affairs in Upper Canada—I do not find him mentioned in any of our early records. Perhaps he just attended to his business as a British officer.

[13] Captain James Mathew Hamilton, an Irishman, born at Donaghadee, County Down, 1768. He became an officer in the Fifth Regiment of Foot. Being stationed at Mackinac, he was married there by Dr. David Mitchell, the Regimental Surgeon, to his daughter Louisa. For the greater caution, they were remarried by the Rev. Robert Addison, at St. Mark's Church,

Niagara, August 24th, 1792. (See my article "Some Early Legislations and Legislators in Upper Canada," 33 Can. L. Times, at p. 101.) He and his wife were great friends of Mrs. Simcoe, who speaks in her Diary of them more than once.

[14]Robert Hamilton was a Scottish merchant of very high character. He was appointed one of the first Legislative Councillors of Upper Canada by Simcoe, in 1792. He had been in partnership with Hon. Richard Cartwright and generally saw eye to eye with him: Simcoe thought them both Republicans, an unfounded suspicion. He and his family (one of his sons, George, was the founder of the present city of Hamilton), played a very active and creditable part in our nascent province.

An account of this eminent man will be found in Miss Janet Carnochan's "Queenston in Early Years" in No. 25 of the publications of the Niagara Historical Society. See also Robertson's History of Freemasonry in Canada, Vol. 1, p. 468. A portrait and sketch are given in the Buffalo Hist. Soc. *Publications*, Vol. vi, pp. 73-95.

The amount of toll referred to, p. 398, as to be taken by grist-millers was fixed by Statute in 1792 (32 George III., cap. 7), at one-twelfth. It is said that it was proposed that the amount should be one-tenth but that friends of the millers stood out stoutly for one-twelfth. The toll for saw-millers was a matter of custom and not of statutory provision. The rate one-half said to be charged at the Niagara seems to have been common. See what is said about Captain Stone (not Store) and his sawmill on the creek of Guansignougua (Gananoque) at [521], [522].

[15]Elizabeth Posthuma Gwillim, wife of John Graves Simcoe was born in 1766 at Whitchurch, the daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Gwillim, a posthumous child. She married John Graves Simcoe in 1782, and survived till 1850, when she died at Wolford Lodge, not far from Exeter, her husband's estate.

She accompanied her husband to Upper Canada; her diary has been edited with great skill and care by Mr. John Ross Robertson, a true labour of love. This work cannot be neglected by any student of early times in Upper Canada, the letterpress and the illustrations (many of them from drawings by Mrs. Simcoe) being equally excellent. "The Diary / of / Mrs. John Graves Simcoe, / Wife of the / First Lieutenant-Governor of the Province / of Upper Canada, 1792-6. / With Notes and Biography / by / J. Ross Robertson, / and two hundred and thirty-seven illustrations, including / ninety reproductions of Interesting Sketches / made by Mrs. Simcoe. / Toronto: / William Briggs, / 1911." Cloth, 8vo., pp. xxix + 440.

[16] Edward Baker Littlehales (eldest son of Baker John Littlehales), Military Secretary to Simcoe, accompanied him on his trip from Newark to Detroit in 1797. After returning to England he was advanced in rank to a Colonelcy. In 1801, he became under Secretary for Ireland, remaining such till 1820. In 1802 he became a Baronet and in 1817 assumed the name Baker instead of Littlehales and became Sir Edward Baker Baker, Bart. A man of much tact and bonhomie, he deserved all La Rochefoucault's eulogy and more.

[17]Jedidiah Morse, born in Woodstock, Conn., in 1761, died 1826; he was a Congregational minister and a successful teacher. He wrote a History of New England, Annals of the American Revolution and a number of biographies.

His geography was well and favourably known; the work cited by the translator is not the folio Morse's Geography, which many of the senescent will remember as being in common use in the schools of Upper Canada half a century ago and more (before the advent of Dr. Hodgins' Canadian work), but an octavo. My own edition was printed in London for John Stockdale, Piccadilly, and bears date 1792.

[18]It must be remembered that till 1784, Nova Scotia included what is now called New Brunswick. Morse does not anywhere in this book recognize New Brunswick but treats of the whole territory as Nova Scotia (pp. 475, 476). New Britain, he describes (p. 473) as "all the tract of country which lies north of Canada, commonly called the Eskimaux Country, including Labrador, New North and South Wales, said to be 850 miles long and 750 broad." The map shows New South Wales west of James Bay.

[19]The account of Simcoe's services in the war of the American Revolution must be read with caution. See note [3] p. 172 ante and Simcoe's letter to Phillips, pp. 134, sqq., ante.

[20]See an account of this and other legislation in a series of articles in the *Canadian Law Times*, 1913. "Some Early Legislation and Legislators in Upper Canada," already mentioned (33 Can. L. T., pp. 22, 96, 180).

[21]John White, an English Barrister admitted of Gray's Inn, but apparently called by the Inner Temple, 1785, who came to Upper Canada in 1792 as the first Attorney-General. (His diary is extant, but as yet unpublished). Through the influence of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, he became a member of the House of Assembly for the first Parliament; and he took an active part in legislation. His health was not very good and he seems to have been of a quarrelsome disposition. In 1800, January 3rd, he was killed in a duel by John Small, Clerk of the Executive Council (whose wife he had traduced), and in 1871, his bones were dug up from their first resting place and reburied in St. James' Cemetery. See my "Legal Profession in Upper Canada in Early Times," Toronto, 1916, at pp. 151-153.

His account of the difficulty of convicting those charged with crime in Upper Canada sounds odd at the present day but is amply borne out by his diary—of all those noted as having been prosecuted by him from July, 1792, till January, 1794, only one was convicted. Shortly after this time, the disposition of juries seems to have changed or possibly the judges became more efficient, for there has not for a century been any real ground for complaint (except in rare cases) of undue leniency on the part of juries.

[22]The coloured burglar was Josiah Cutan, tried at L'Assomption (now Sandwich), September 7th, 1792, at the court of Oyer and Terminer for the District of Hesse, before William Dummer Powell, then the first (and only) Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the District of Hesse, and a jury. Powell at the time of La Rochefoucault's visit was the only Justice of the Court of King's Bench; he afterwards became Chief Justice of Upper Canada.

The prisoner was apprehended shortly after midnight, and while he denied having stolen them, admitted that he had *taken* some articles found in a bag, "some smoked skins, and two kegs of rum and a bundle of peltry" from the house or shop of Joseph Campeau of St. Anne's, trader; and he also admitted that he had broken into the shop at night with an adze, forcing open the door. The jury found him "guilty of the burglary and felony whereof he stands indicted."

Being called to the Bar to receive sentence he was thus addressed by Mr. Justice Powell:

"Josiah Cutan, you have been found guilty by the verdict of twelve good and impartial men upon the plain evidence of your own voluntary confession, in addition to other proof, of having committed on the eighteenth of October last, a burglary in the house of Joseph Campeau. This crime is so much more atrocious and alarming to society as it is committed by night when the world is at repose and that it cannot be guarded against without the same precautions which are used against the wild beasts of the forest, who, like you, go prowling about for their prey. A member so hurtful to the peace of society, no good laws will permit to continue in it; and the Court in obedience to the law, has imposed upon it the painful duty of pronouncing its sentence, which is that you be taken hence to the Gaol whence you came, and thence to the place of Execution, where you are to be hanged by the neck until you are dead. And the Lord

have mercy upon your soul." He was duly executed at an early day—it was not the custom in those days to fix the day of execution, and the sheriff carried out the sentence at a convenient and early day (generally the Monday following the sentence).

The proceedings at this Court are to be found in the Ontario Archives; a copy is in the Riddell Canadian Library at Osgoode Hall, Toronto.

It may be noticed that the prisoner was not defended by counsel, and indeed the only lawyer then practising at Detroit and Sandwich was Walter Roe, Clerk of the Court of Oyer and Terminer; and he conducted the prosecution.

[23] John Butler, born at New London, Connecticut, in 1728 (the eldest son of John Butler, an Irish Officer), educated at Connecticut, became Captain in the Indian Department under Sir William Johnson in 1755 and distinguished himself at the disastrous battle of Crown Point in that year. He served under Abercromby at Ticonderoga and Bradstreet at Fort Frontenac, then went with Johnson to Fort Niagara as second in command of the Indian forces.

In 1760 he went with Amherst to Montreal as second in command of the Indians; and thereafter was engaged in connection with the Indians for the remainder of his life, his knowledge of several Indian languages rendering him an invaluable agent.

He took the Loyalist side in the American Revolution, and raised the celebrated corps, "Butler's Rangers," whose activities and successes were marked. His son, Walter, was equally active; and sometimes certain of his actions have been credited (or rather debited) to his father.

Settling at Niagara after the war, he continued in the service of the Crown until his death in May, 1796, and was interred in the family burying ground near Niagara.

"A fat man below the middle stature, yet active; through the rough visage of the warrior showing a rather agreeable than forbidding aspect. Care sat upon his brow. Speaking quickly, he repeated his words when excited. Decision, firmness, courage were undoubted characteristics of the man." So wrote one who owed him no love—Miner, the local historian of Wyoming.

"History / of / Wyoming / in a series of Letters / from / Charles Miner / to his Son / William Penn Miner / . . . Philadelphia / published by J. Crissy, No. 4 Minor Street / 1845"—the description is given at p. 236. This local history seems to have been written in good faith; but much gossip is set down as sober history. A copy is in the Riddell Canadian Library, Osgoode Hall, Toronto; the book is not common.

Many wholly groundless charges were made against Butler, as against most loyal officers, by the Revolutionists.

A fairly full and (I think) wholly accurate account of Butler and his services will be found in Lieutenant-Colonel Cruickshank's "Butler's Rangers," published by the Lundy's Lane Historical Society. Robertson's "Freemasonry in Canada," Vol. 1, p. 470, has also a short account of him.

Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea), a Mohawk Indian born on the banks of the Ohio about 1742 when his parents were on a hunting expedition, their home being at the Canajoharie Castle. His father dying when Joseph was young, his mother married an Indian whose Christian name was Barnet or Bernard contracted to Brandt or Brant. Joseph took this name, which was spelled both ways. Smith calls him "Brandt," but the usual and correct spelling is "Brant."

He was sent to a school at Lebanon, Conn. (the original of Dartmouth College) by Sir William Johnson and became a devout Christian. He took an active part in the Revolutionary War. Campbell's calumny of him in "Gertrude of Wyoming," "the monster Brant," was conclusively disproved and Campbell apologized most handsomely for his mistake—but Brant did lead his Indians in some incursions of less note, and was not wholly destitute of the sternness of the Redman.

He came to Canada a leader of the Six Nations, and continued to the end of his life to be a devoted adherent to British rule—a myth (not yet dead) to the contrary among certain Americans, notwithstanding.

He visited England in 1786 and was received with great distinction. He died in 1807.

A very full account of his life has been written by Col. William L. Stone, a work readily available. Much inaccuracy has been exhibited by some Canadian writers, *e.g.*, he is made a hereditary chief, which he was not; he is represented as fighting in the war of 1812, which, indeed, his son did, etc., etc. Brantford is called after him. His sister Molly was Sir William Johnson's "Indian wife," and bore him many children.

[24]Timothy Pickering, 1745-1829, born in Salem, Mass., educated at Harvard, where he graduated 1763, admitted to the bar, 1768; became judge of Court of Common Pleas for Essex County 1775. He took the continental or revolutionary side in the disputes with the mother country, and in 1776 was placed in command of a regiment. He served during the whole war and at the conclusion of peace became a commission merchant in Philadelphia, removed in a short time to Wilkesbarre. He was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania. Later he became a Commissioner to treat with the Indians and concluded several treaties with them in 1790, 1791 and 1794—he received the name "Black Bird" from the Indians with whom he had dealings. Mrs. Simcoe notes in her diary, May 14th, 1793, the arrival at Navy Hall of "John Randolph, . . . a Virginian, Benjamin Lincoln and Col. Timothy Pickering, . . . both of Massachusetts, New England. Col. Simcoe calls the latter my cousin, his ancestor left England in Charles 1st's reign and this gentleman really bears great resemblance to the picture Mr. Gwillim [a relative of Mrs. Simcoe's] has of Sir Gilbert Pickering." These three Americans were Commissioners appointed by the United States to treat with the Indians at Sandusky; they were courteously entertained by Col. and Mrs. Simcoe. They attended a ball and supper and were struck with the beauty of the Canadian ladies there.

Pickering afterwards became Postmaster General, Secretary of War, Secretary of State, Senator and Representative; he opposed the war in 1812. See "Life of Timothy Pickering," by his son and others, Boston, 1867, 1873.

[25]Two other sons were afterwards born to Simcoe—John Cornwall in July 1798, and Henry Addington in 1800; the former died young, the latter survived till 1868. There were also eight daughters.

[26]Robert Pilkington, born at Chelsfield, Kent, 1765, educated at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, became Second Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery, 1787; two years after he exchanged into the Royal Engineers, came to Canada 1790 and was stationed at Quebec. He was promoted First Lieutenant 1783, in which year he joined Simcoe's staff. In 1794 he built Simcoe's Fort on the Maumee; he was on the staff till 1796, and became Captain Lieutenant 1797; Captain 1801. Leaving Canada in 1803, he was stationed for special service at the Waltham Abbey Powder Factory. Lieutenant-General in 1809 he took part in the Walcheren expedition, and was wounded at Flushing. On his return to England he filled several offices of high and responsible command—finally, in 1832, becoming Inspector-General of Fortifications. He died in London in 1834. "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. xlvi, pp. 299, 300. Mr. Ross Robertson also speaks of him, "Diary of Mrs. Simcoe," p. 192.

He seems to have been an active and useful public servant.

[27]See an article in the *Canadian Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, September, 1911, "The Medical Profession in Ontario."

[28]A photographic copy of this is in the Riddell Canadian Library at Osgoode Hall.

[29]William Berczy, born in Saxony in 1749 or possibly a little earlier. While very young his family removed to Vienna; both his father and his uncle were in the employ of the State and represented Saxony at Vienna. He was educated at Leipsic and Jena, and travelled much in adjoining coun-

tries. He went to Switzerland and Italy; thence to London, where in 1791 he was engaged by an Association, at the head of which was Sir William Pultney (afterwards Earl of Bath), to secure from Germany, settlers for a tract of land in the Genesee Valley, New York, which had been granted to the Association. In 1792 he brought about sixty German families from Hamburg by way of Philadelphia to the Genesee Valley.

Charles Williamson, whom La Rochefoucault calls Captain Williamson [478-9] was the chief agent of the Association at the settlement. Berczy and he disagreed, and Berczy brought his people (or most of them) to Upper Canada in 1794 under an arrangement with Governor Simcoe.

The Township of Markham, in the County of York, was selected, and there Berczy settled some sixty-four families. Difficulties arose about the patents for lands, and Berczy was compelled to appeal to the Home authorities, with some temporary but little ultimate success. The story is not pleasant reading.

Considering himself wronged by the Upper Canadian Government he left the Province in 1805 to reside in Montreal—there he employed his talent for painting to earn a livelihood.

In 1812 he left for New York, where he died in 1813.

He was an able, active business man, honourable in all his dealings so far as known. La Rochefoucault seems (as often) to have accepted the statements of an enemy as giving a fair representation of character. Those interested in Berczy and his settlement may consult Morgan's "Sketches of Celebrated Canadians," 1862, pp. 110-113; Robinson's "History of Toronto and County of York," 1885, Vol. 1, pp. 114 sqq.; Canniff's "Early Settlement of Upper Canada," p. 363; Miles & Co. "Atlas of the County of York," 1878, pp. xiv, xv.

[50] John Stuart, 1740-1811, born at Harrisburrg, Pa., the son of Andrew Stuart, a Presbyterian. Desiring to join the Church of England, he went to England and received ordination in 1770. Returning as a priest, he became a missionary to the Indians on the Mohawk River, Fort Hunter, where he served for seven years, translating the New Testament into the Mohawk language. He remained loyal on the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, escaping to Canada, St. John's, in 1781 where he became Chaplain to a Provincial Regiment. Settling permanently in Kingston in 1788, he became the first incumbent of the church there in 1791. His son, George O'Kill Stuart, Archdeacon of York, is better known. See Miss Machar's "Story of Old Kingston," pp. 161, 162; Morgan's "Sketches of Celebrated Canadians," p. 126.

[51] See an article in the *Canadian Law Times* for July, 1915 (33 Can. L. T., 580), "The First Medical Case in the Province."

[52] Joel Stone of Gananoque, born at Guilford, Connecticut, 1749; a direct descendant of William Stone, who sailed from London, England in 1639. Stone's father, Stephen Stone, removed with his family from Guilford to Litchfield in 1751 and there the lad grew to manhood. He went into business in that town but soon was forced to leave Litchfield on account of his loyal sentiments freely expressed. Going to the British lines in New York, he took up arms and reaching the rank of captain continued to serve the King until the evacuation of New York by the British troops. In 1783 he sailed to England but came thence to Canada in 1785 or 1786. He determined to take up the land to which he was entitled in virtue of his rank and services.

He obtained a grant west of Gananoque River where he settled in 1792, at a place called by the Indians Cadanoghue (variously spelled, but our Gananoque), "Rocks in Deep Water." There he founded the town of Gananoque and built the mills described in the text and other mills; he also engaged in general business and became wealthy, as wealth was estimated in those days. He was the first Collector of Customs at the Port, and in 1809 became Colonel of Militia. Gourlay speaks of visiting him in 1818, "a worthy gentleman" (see my Life of Gourlay, 1916, p. 67); and a worthy gentleman he continued till his death in 1833.

A short account of Stone's life will be found in "Clan Donald," a brochure privately printed, presented to the Riddell Canadian Library by H. M. Mowat, Esq., K.C., a descendant of the wife of Col. Stone.

The Johnson who is spoken of in the text as owning the opposite shore was Sir John Johnson, "Knight and Baronite" (son of Sir William Johnson) who afterwards sold this land to Charles and John Macdonald.

* In the accounts of the various routes from Montreal to the Illinois, the original French text should always be consulted, as the translator makes absurd blunders in several instances.

Page 523: "Ils étaient partis de Montréal: leur route est par le lac Ontario, le lac Erié; ils remontent la rivière de Miami, puis, par un portage de six à sept milles, ils regagnent la Theahikiriver, qui donne dans celle des Illinois, ou celle de Wabach, qui y communique par plusieurs petits creeks, séparés par des courts portages; enfin ils se dirigent vers la partie du pays des Illinois, etc." "They left Montreal: their route is by Lake Ontario and Lake Erie; they ascend the Miami River, then by a portage of six to seven miles they reach the Kankakee which flows into the Illinois or the Wabash, which there connects by several small creeks separated by short portages; then they go toward that part of the Illinois country, etc."

Page 524: Another way is this: "On remonte la rivière des Ottawas ou la *grande rivière* jusqu'au lac Nipissin, et de-là par la rivière des Français (Frenchmom's river) on arrive au lac Huron. Dans cette seule navigation ou recontre trente-six portages, à la vérité très-courts. Du lac Huron on entre le lac Michigan par le détroit de Michilimackinack, ensuite dans la green bay, du fond de laquelle on passe dans la rivière du Crocodile, puis par le lac du ris (rice lake) et par la rivière Saxe, ou parvient après un court portage à la rivière Ouisconsin qui se jette dans le Mississipi que l'on descend jusqu'à la rivière des Illinois, qu'alors on remonte." "You ascend the Ottawa or Grand River to Lake Nipissing and thence by the French River to Lake Huron, encountering thirty-six short portages. From Lake Huron you enter Lake Michigan by the Straits of Michilimacinac, then into Green Bay [in Wisconsin], from the head of Green Bay [not, I think, the present Fond du Lac], you pass into the Crocodile River [Fox River], then by Rice Lake [Puckaway Lake] and by the River Saxe [the Upper Fox River] after a short portage you reach the Wisconsin River which flows into the Mississippi which you descend to the Illinois, which you then ascend."

For an account of the route in Wisconsin see "Wisconsin Historical Collections," Vol. ii, p. 109, cf. do., Vol. xiii, pp. 307, 308; Vol. xx, p. 362.

It seems odd that the Lakes Winnebago (des Puans, des Puants, Puan or St. Francis) and Big Buttes des Morts (Death Lake) are not mentioned, but probably they were looked upon as expansions of the (lower) Fox River, called by La Rochefoucault the Crocodile River (I cannot trace this name). The Rice Lake (Puckaway) was also called Rush Lake—a description of it and of the wild rice growing in it is given in the Wisconsin Hist. Coll., Vol. viii, p. 291—the rice was the zizania which grows in our own Rice Lake and was gathered in the same way. In the early 30's a canal was dug almost on the line of the old trail from the lake to the Wisconsin; but it proved to be of little use as it never was full except when the Wisconsin was high. The present canal at Portage is a little higher up the river.

The name "fond du lac" was applied to the most distant end of many bodies of water, *e.g.*, to Sault Ste. Marie, Michilimacinac, the Fond du Lac of Lake Superior, Burlington Bay, etc.: "tête du lac," "bout du lac," etc., were other terms used in the same way.

Page 525: Another way is: "la même route que l'on prend de Montréal jusqu'au détroit de Michilimackinack, on le laisse à gauche pour entrer dans le lac supérieur, et le traverser jusqu'au grand portage, et de-là au lac des bois, ect., ect." "The same route which one takes from Montreal as far as the Straits of Michilimacinac—these are kept to the left to enter Lake Superior; cross Lake Superior to Grand Portage and then to the Lake of the Woods, etc., etc."

"Grand Portage" was at the head of a bay on the N.W. shore of Lake Superior some five miles above the mouth of the Pigeon River. At that place

there was a portage of nine miles northerly to the widening of the Pigeon. It was the great halting and gathering place for voyageurs and a very important depot for the fur trade; but when in 1803 the united Hudson Bay and North-West Companies erected a post at the mouth of the Pigeon River (called Fort William after William McGillivray, one of their partners), Grand Portage lost its importance.

It is thought that it was the belief that Grand Portage would pass to the United States which caused the erection of a post at Fort William. Grand Portage is near the international boundary and is now a small lakeside hamlet in Cook County, Minnesota.

Fairly full accounts are given of this place in the "Wisconsin Historical Collections," Vol. xi, pp. 123-125. In a note on p. 124 will be found the route followed from Grand Portage to the Lake of the Woods. On page 579 the route of the fur traders is given.

Page 579: "Les expéditions partent de Montréal en juin et emploient environ six semaines pour se rendre au fort du grand portage, il faut quelques jours de moins pour arriver à celui de Michilimackinack; ils partent de Montréal en canots par caravannes de huit à dix, et ils vont à leur destination en suivant la fleuve St. Laurent depuis la Chine jusqu'au lac des deux Montagnes, remontant la rivière *Utacoha*, par elle au lac Nipissin, et de-là par la riviére des Francais dans le lac Huron et au fort Michilimackinack, puis à celui du grand portage." "The expeditions leave Montreal in June and take about six weeks to arrive at the Fort of Grand Portage, it takes a few days less to get to the Fort at Michilimacinac. They leave Montreal in flotillas of eight to ten canoes and go up the St. Lawrence from Lachine to the Lake of the Two Mountains, ascend the Ottawa to Lake Nipissing, thence by the French River to Lake Huron and Fort Michilimacinac and finally to the Fort at Grand Portage."

[34] The proclamation giving the name Ouse to what was then and is now called the Grand River, is dated July 16th, 1792.

[35] Sir Frederick Haldimand, 1718-1791, born at Neufchâtel, Switzerland, joined the Dutch army as a soldier of fortune, and was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of 62nd Royal Americans (afterwards the 60th Foot) in 1756. He went to America in 1758, took part in Ticonderoga, and served with Amherst at Montreal in 1760. He remained in Canada till 1766, when he was appointed to command in Florida, remaining in command till 1778. He was in command in New York for a time, but in 1778 he was appointed Governor of Canada, succeeding Sir Guy Carleton, continuing in that post till he went to England in 1784. He died at Yverdun in the Canton of Neufchâtel in 1791.

His governorship of Canada has been represented (and not wholly without justification) as an arbitrary rule; but he was a soldier, he did not believe in lawyers and the times were very critical for British rule. What with the plotting Americans and the discontented French-Canadians, Haldimand did not have an easy or a pleasant task; and he probably did as well as most could have done.

His manuscripts, copies of which are in the Dominion Archives, are of great value to historians of Canada.

[36] It is difficult to trace the very many members of the Clan Macdonell who have done good service to the Empire. J. A. Macdonell, K.C., of Alexandria, in his work on Glengarry in Canada, 1893, has given an account of many; he has been good enough to inform me that this gentleman was Angus Macdonell. He was the son of Alexander Macdonell, of Aberchalder, who settled in Tryon County in the Mohawk Valley and with all his family remained loyal during the Revolution.

His brother, Colonel John Macdonell, was Speaker of the first House of Assembly in Upper Canada, and another brother, Hugh Macdonell was a member of the same house; John became a Lieutenant-Colonel in 1803 but was a subaltern officer at the time of La Rochefoucault's visit. Another brother, Chichester Macdonell, did not remain in Canada after the peace of 1783, but did good service for his King elsewhere.

[37]Alexander MacKenzie (the name is variously spelled), a Scotsman, probably born in Inverness, 1755, came to this continent at an early age and was stationed at Fort Chippewayan, at the head of Lake Athabasca. His account of his two journeys, "Voyages on the River St. Lawrence and through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans," printed in London, 1801, is not very rare; it contains a most interesting account of the natives, and is prefaced by a historical account of the fur trade. Knighted in 1802, he returned to Scotland, where he died, 1820.

[38] Father Casot. In The Jesuit Relations, etc., Thwaites' edition, Cleveland, 1901, at p. 111, Father Casot is spoken of as the only living Jesuit in 1791; the note on p. 395 reads: "'On the death of Father Well, towards the end of March or the beginning of April, 1791, Father Casot came up to Montreal and anticipated the cupidity of the English Government by giving away in charity every movable possession of the Montreal Jesuits (Amer. Cath. Hist. Res., Vol. V, p. 34). On page 38 of Researches here cited is reprinted the following extract from the Montreal *Gazette*, April 7th, 1791: 'The Reverend Father Casot, procurator of the Jesuits of this Province, arrived at the residence in this town shortly after the death of his confrère. Father Well. The noble and generous manner in which he disposed of the money and effects of this house is worthy of the greatest praise and deserves to be recorded in the annals of benevolence. He distributed the corn which he found, in quantities of fifty and a hundred bushels to the hospitals and to other indigent poor; he made surprising gifts of money of two, three, four and even ten thousand francs; in short, he extended a helping hand to those whom shame restrains from making known their wants. His hand is always open to the poor of this class, by whom he was happily beset up till yesterday, which was the day of his departure. Not one person came out from his house without having felt the benefit of his disinterested charity.'

Cf. the following extract from the Quebec *Gazette*, March 20th, 1800 (as cited in Christie's Hist. of Canada, Vol. 1, p. 207) regarding Casot's death. 'On Sunday last, the 15th inst., died the Reverend Father Jean Joseph Casot, Priest, of the Company of Jesus, procureur of the missions and colleges of the Jesuits in Canada, the last of the Jesuits of this province. The immense charities which he bestowed assure him for a long time, the blessings of the poor. He was one of those men whose life was a hidden treasure, and his death is a public calamity.'"

[39] From notes kindly furnished me by M. Aegidius Fauteux, Librarian of the Sulpician Library, St. Denis Street, Montreal, an ardent student of early Canadian history.

[40] It is not without interest to note that it was (Sir) David William Smith who, when Deputy Surveyor-General of Upper Canada, was the first to open a Register for the entry of meteorological, barometrical and thermometrical observations (August, 1794); he invited by public advertisement in the Upper Canada Gazette communications of that nature from all parts of the Province. See "The Legal Profession in Upper Canada in Early Times," p. 185, n. 13.

[41] "Les Bibliothèques Canadiennes / Etude Historique / par / Aegidius Fauteux / Extrait de la Revue Canadienne, / Montreal, / Arbour & Dupont, Imprimeurs—Éditeurs, / 249 rue Lagauchetière Est., / 1916," 8vo., paper, pp. 45. See pp. 25, et seqq.

[42] See the same book, pp. 26 et seqq.

[43] Frobisher & McTavish, North West Company. An interesting account of Frobisher and McTavish and of the North West Company is given in Vol. 1 of "Masson's Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-ouest etc." Quebec, 1889. The struggles between this Company and Lord Selkirk is part of the thrilling history of our North West which I cannot even touch on here.

Some account of Frobisher will be found in "Borthwick's Montreal History and Gazetteer, 1892." See p. 356.

It must here be sufficient to say that Joseph Frobisher was one of the most distinguished of the early British explorers and traders. As early as 1772 he had passed beyond Lake Superior and soon established a flourishing fur trade. He did not remain in the interior in the winter, but came out to Grand Portage on Lake Superior. He was one of the founders of the North-West Company and exceedingly active in its management. He retired in 1798 and thereafter lived in Montreal.

With his brother Thomas he formed the firm of Frobisher Brothers. Thomas retired in 1778 and a younger brother, Benjamin, took his place in the firm. Benjamin died in 1790. (Another Benjamin Frobisher, whose death in 1819 was one of the many tragedies of the West, was a nephew.)

Simon McTavish was quite as energetic and successful a fur trader as Frobisher and of much the same type. He was "a shrewd and autocratic Highlander" and enjoyed the appellation "Premier" or "Marquis" of the Canadian fur trade till his death in 1804.

Until 1783 the fur trade was carried on individually; "unrestrained competition wrought great evils, the Indians were debauched and the traders being without legal restraint grew lawless." Several times interests were pooled for a brief period. Finally in the winter of 1783-84 a sixteen-share company (really a partnership) was formed for five years at Montreal, of which the Frobisher Brothers and Simon McTavish were agents: the other (or wintering) partners dwelt at their posts in the far North-West. The general rendezvous was at Grand Portage on Lake Superior.

In 1785 a rival company was formed, which brought about a very severe struggle and resulted in a union of the two companies in 1787. This was also called the North-West Company, and it was to run for "nine years with twenty shares." This reorganized company was more successful even than the original; and under its auspices Alexander MacKenzie made his voyages of discovery.

At the time of La Rochefoucault's visit the managers were Joseph Forbisher and Simon McTavish. Afterwards, in 1798, the company was again reorganized "with forty-six shares—some of the old partners retiring and clerks being promoted to partnership."

In 1801 MacKenzie, with Richardson, Forsyth & Co., of Montreal, and Phyn, Inglis & Co., of London, formed an opposition company, commonly known as the X Y Company, sometimes the New Company or MacKenzie's Company; and there was again bitter competition.

On the death in 1804 of Simon McTavish the two companies united, and this united company continued till 1821, when it sold out to the Hudson's Bay Company. See Wis. Hist. Col., Vol. xix, 163 sqq.; Chester Martin's "Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada," which gives an entertaining account of the the life of the partners in Montreal and at the Posts. Masson's "Bourgeois de la Compagnie du North-West," *passim*.

It perhaps should be added that in 1785 Simon McTavish, Joseph Frobisher, John Gregory and William McGillivray formed the Montreal firm of "McTavish, Frobisher & Co."

It may be of interest to know the persons forming the company in 1804, They were John Gregory, William MacGillivray, Duncan McGillivray, William Hallowell, Roderick McKenzie (the partners in the House of McTavish, Frobisher & Co.), Angus Shaw, Daniel McKenzie, William McKay, John MacDonald, Donald McTavish, John McDonell, Archibald Normand McLeod, Alexander MacDougall, Charles Chaboillez, John Sayer, Peter Grant, Alexander Fraser, Eneas Cameron, John Finlay, Duncan Cameron, James Hughes, Alexander MacKay, Hugh McGillis, Alexander Henry, John MacGillivray, James McKenzie, Simon Fraser, John Duncan Campbell, David Thompson, John Thomson, Sir Alexander MacKenzie, Thomas Forsyth, John Richardson, John Forsyth, Alexander Ellice, John Inglis, James Forsyth, John Ogilvie, Pierre Rocheblave, Alexander McKenzie, John MacDonald, John Mure, James Leith, John Wills, John Haldane and Thomas Thain. This sounds like a roll-call of the clans, and one wonders what the Frenchmen, Chaboillez and Rocheblave, and a straggling Sassenach or two are doing *dans cette galère*.

In the table given pages 575, 576, taken from Count Andriani, the place-names Niagara, Lake Ontario, Detroit, Lake Erie, Michilimakinak and Lake Huron need no explanation. In the other place-names the author has in some cases misunderstood or miscopied and the translator in others.

Michipicoton on the Michipicoton River was a small French fort and a dependency on the larger one at Nipigon.

"Pic" (Le Pic or Peek) was a trading post on the north shore of Lake Superior about 200 miles from Sault Ste. Marie. It was not founded until after the beginning of the English regime. Probably it belonged to Cotté, who was an independent trader and did not join the coalition. Later the post passed into the hands of the North-West Company, and for many years was maintained by the Hudson's Bay people. The Canadian Pacific Railway now crosses Pic River near its mouth and not far from the site of the old fur trade post. Wis. Hist. Coll., Vol. xix, p. 270, n. 84. The Pic empties Lake McKay and flows into Lake Superior at Heron Bay.

Alampicon is Allmipigon, Alepinigon or Ounepigon, our Nepigon or Nipigon on Lake Nepigon.

"The first post founded on the lake was built by Duluth in 1684, and was held by his brother, Sieur de la Tourette, as late as 1688. It was located on the northern shore of Lake Nipigon and sometimes was called Fort La Tourette. The later French post (founded probably after the rebuilding of Mackinac, 1713), was at the mouth of the River Nipigon on the north shore of Lake Superior. Alexander Henry saw the ruins of this post when he passed in 1775 and remarked on the fine furs obtainable there." Wis. Hist. Coll., Vol. xviii, p. 191, n. 46. These posts were established by the French to draw the trade away from the English at Hudson Bay. After the conquest the English continued the trade in that district.

Grand Portage is spoken of in note.[33]

Fond du Lac is not the Fond du Lac at the head of Lake Winnebago in Wisconsin, but the Fond du Lac of Lake Superior where the present Superior City (Wisconsin) stands. The post was apparently at the base of Connor's Point, near the city gas-works. Wis. Hist. Coll., Vol. xix, p. 173 n.

La Pointe (which the translator absurdly enough calls "Point of the lake") and Baie de Guloavanan (which the translator calls Bay of Guivaranum but which is almost certainly du Chequamegon, Chagaouamigon, Chegoiwegon, Shagawaumikong, etc., etc., St. Esprit, La Pointe, Wisconsin) are really the same place, or at least are very close together, possibly one on the point on the mainland and the other on the island now called Madeleine Island. An interesting description of this place is given in Wis. Hist. Coll., Vol. xiii, pp. 199-201, 401-425; Vol. xi, p. 372: In Vol. i, p. 123, we are told that the name "Mo-nung-wab-na-can-ing" was also given to this place on account of the great abundance there of the bird of that name, which we call the yellow wood-pecker.

M. Fauteux suggests that by "Guloavanan" the author means "Kionconan" (Kiaonan, Kiwewenan, Kewiwenon, Quinywenong, Keowkonenan, Anse Keewyweenon, Keweewena), Keweenaw, Michigan. That there was a post at this point at some time seems reasonably certain and there may be more resemblance between the word used by La Rochefoucault and some of the many names for Keweenan than between that and any of the names for La Pointe. Those interested will find a number of references to Keweenaw and the fur trade there in the Wis. Hist. Coll. See the Index at p. 260.

"I have had great difficulty in discovering anything about Count Andriani—his name does not appear in any Biographical or Literary Dictionary that I have seen.

From what is said [591] he seems to have pursued his researches with the approval of the British Government—the original text is rather perverted in the translation, it reads "la facilité que les ordres du gouvernement anglais lui ont procurée pour ses recherches" i.e., "the facilities for his researches which the orders of the English Government procured for him."

He travelled "in the interior parts of America in the year 1791" [575]: but he certainly wrote to a considerable extent before that time.

We find Colonel David Humphreys, Washington's Aide-de-Camp, writing to Washington under date 31 October, 1790:—

"The Count Andriani has written things monstrously absurd and ill-founded; such, in respect to their import, as follows: That the United States are divided into two factions, Mr. Jefferson and the northern States in favor of France, the southern States and New York in favor of Great Britain; that Congress had done nothing but quarrel about the seat of government, and that this circumstance was what probably gave you the air of anxiety, which he had remarked; that there was no man in Congress but Mr. Madison, who argued in a gentlemanlike and solid manner, nor, in short, any man out of it in America but Colonel Hamilton, who possessed abilities; with a great deal about American parade and luxury, not worth repeating."

Washington's reply was such as would be expected:—

"The remarks of a foreign Count are such as do no credit to his judgment, and as little to his heart. They are the superficial observations of a few months' residence, and an insult to the inhabitants of a country, where he has received much more attention and civility than he seems to merit."

In a letter from John Paradise to Washington, received in June, 1790, is the following:—

"I avail myself of the opportunity afforded me by my friend, Count Andriani, of conveying to you an Ode, which Count Alfieri, the author of it, desired me long ago to convey to you. . . ."

In the Madison Papers there is a letter from Count Andriani, dated New Orleans, March 11, 1808, in which he speaks of a prospective visit to New York or Virginia. In the same collection there is a letter of introduction from Philip Mazzei to Madison, dated March 23, 1790; and also a letter from Benjamin Rush to Madison, described as follows:—

"1790, *July* 17, *Philadelphia.* Count Andreani, as described in Madison's letter. The natural productions of the United States explored and described only by foreigners who are imperfectly acquainted with our language and who derive first impressions of us through British publications. The "residence" bill gives general satisfaction in Philadelphia. Our domestic debt." 4°. 3 pages.

In the "Archivio Storico Lombardo" 1881, v. 8, p. 312 is found the following in respect of a balloon ascension and a previous voyage to the East Indies:

"Il cav. Paolo Andreani, che già aveva fatto parlare di sè pel suo viaggio nelle Indie Orientali, s'invoglio di quegli sperimenti, ideò delle innovazioni, assistito (scrive il *Giornale* Enciclopedico) dal governatore Ferdinando, che si dilettava di simili ricerche; e il 13 marzo 1784 fece una ascensione dalla sua villa di Moncucco. Gli furono campagni due falegnami, Gaetano Rossi e Giuseppe Barzago.

"Don Paolin col so ballon l'è andaa
Mi credi, finna al terz ciel, comè Sant. Pavol
Perchè anca lù l'è vegnuu giò incantaa."

In the diary of Ezra Stiles, clergyman, scientist, lawyer, scholar, President of Yale College, under date July 11, 1790, is found the following entry.

"11 Ldsdy. Confined at home all day by illness. Count Andreani, a Nobleman of Milan, visited me on the Tour of America with Lett. from Dr. Price of London."

(These references I owe to the kindness of the Librarian of Congress.)

I have not been able to trace Andriani's journal: it does not appear to have been printed—it is not in the British Museum, the Congressional Library at Washington, the Parliamentary Library at Ottawa or Toronto, the Public Library of New York, Boston or Toronto—and no one seems ever to have heard of such a volume anywhere. Outside of those contained in this note and that in Chester Martin's "Lord Selkirk," p. 17, all the known references derive from La Rochefoucault. La Rochefoucault seems to have seen Andriani's journal, but where, when, or in what form, he does not say.

GENERAL REMARKS.

Page 385. The Fort at Detroit dates back to 1701 when Cadillac with a priest and about a hundred men, established a fort on what is now Jefferson Avenue—an earlier fort at Fort Gratiot built in 1686 had been abandoned.

La Rochefoucault is out in his chronology when he says, "L'établissement du Détroit a été fait en 1740."

Page 395. The "femme jolie, douce, aimable" of Captain Hamilton was Louisa, daughter of Dr. David Mitchell referred to in note[13]: and the "Six enfants dont il est entouré" were her children—she died in 1801. Some of her descendants are still living. "Diary of Mrs. Simcoe," pp. 284, 285.

Fort "Slusher," "Sckuyler," was, of course, Fort Schlosser—"the author misnames the fort," says the translator, truly; but so does the translator.

Page 402. Jacques Pierre de Taffanel, Marquis de la Jonquière came to Canada as Governor in 1749, succeeding Count de la Galissonière: he stopped English trade on the Ohio by arbitrary seizures, and in 1750 built Fort Rouillé (on what is now the Exhibition grounds, Toronto), to counteract the influence of Fort Chouayen or Oswego, built by the British in 1722—this La Rochefoucault calls, and not without justice, "d'assurer au commerce français la liberté des lacs."

The first post at Toronto was established by Denonville in 1686 "au portage de Toronto"—this was not fortified. In 1749 or 1750, according to some but more accurately in 1751, a fort of stone was built by La Jonquière to which he gave the name Rouillé but which was popularly known as Toronto—this was demolished a few years later, 1756 or 1760 (the date seems uncertain). Toronto became York in 1793 and regained its old name in 1834; "Muddy York" like Troja, fruit.

La Jonquière monopolized the sale of brandy to the Indians and made enormous profits: fearing an investigation by the French authorities he demanded his recall—but before a successor could be appointed he died at Quebec in 1752, and was buried in the Récollet Church there.

Page 415. It is said that the first exportation of grain from Canada was in 1752, when two ships laden with wheat were sent from Quebec to Marseilles.

Page 420. In view of the scheme of Simcoe concerning "une autre ville projetée sur la Tamise, . . . qu'il nomme deja . . . Chatham," it is interesting to note that Dr. John Howison, the "Traveller," speaks of the speculation in 1819-20 in building lots at "a spot called Chatham: it contains only one house and a sort of church, but a portion of the land there has been surveyed into building lots and these being offered for sale have given the place a claim to the appellation of a town"—which has a familiar sound. See an article "Upper Canada in Early Times," Canadian Magazine, May, 1913.

As the present edition of La Rochefoucault is printed from Smith's copy, the following may prove of interest.

In a work published by Smith in 1799, of which the title page is "A Short / Topographical Description / of / His Majesty's Province / of / UPPER CANADA / in / North America./ To which is annexed / A Provincial Gazetteer./ London: / Published by W. Faden, Geographer to His / Majesty, and to His Royal Highness the Prince / of Wales, Charing Cross. / 1799. / Printed by W. Bulmer and Co. Russell-court, Cleveland Row, St. James's," on pages 39 and 40 this appears:

"About 15 miles up the river Thames" (the name of the river is "Sinclair" in the original but Sir David in his own copy, now in the possession of Professor Bain of the University of Toronto, has corrected

it to "Thames"), "is the town of Chatham, situated in a fork of it, on a very desirable spot, so well protected, and so central, that as the population increases, it will doubtless become a large and flourishing place; a block house was erected here by His Excellency Major-General Simcoe, and it was made a depot for the fine whale boats, which were built by His Excellency's directions. Indeed it possesses many advantages: the point is extremely well suited for the launching of vessels, and the river is sufficiently deep for those of any size; so that a secure arsenal and building place and an excellent dock might be made in the lesser branch of the forks, upon which there is now a mill.

"Firs are easily floated down from the pinery above, and other kinds of timber necessary for ship building may be procured by water carriage.

"Its greatest disadvantage is the bar across its *embouchure* into lake St. Clair; but that is of sufficient depth for small craft rigged, and for large vessels when lightened; and it would answer as a good winter harbour for any vessel which navigates the lakes, if she made herself light enough to pass over the bar, and go into the river; and this might easily be effected for all vessels, by having a flat-bottomed lighter stationed at the mouth of the river for that especial purpose.

"About 20 miles above Chatham is a village of Moravians, under the guidance of four missionaries from the United Brethren; and here they have a chapel. The converts are Indians, who are peaceable and civil; their principal employment is in attending to their corn-fields, and to the making of maple sugar; above the village, on the river, is a large spring of petroleum. Passing upwards from the Moravian village, the Thames continues a fine serpentine canal, without falls, with a natural tracking path great part of the way."

Page 422. Lord Dorchester was now 71; but that, being "vieux" and "un veillard, il répugne aux idées nouvelles," is a fancy of La Rochefoucault, quite baseless. See note on [528.]

Page 458. De la Jonquière has been already spoken of. What the author says is that where Fort Niagara now stands is "où M. de Denonville avait construit une redoute," (where M. de Denonville had built a redoubt). Jacques René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville was a distinguished French soldier, selected for his valour and military skill to replace La Barre as Governor of Canada in 1685. In 1687, notwithstanding a threatening letter from the English Governor of New York, he went with a body of men and after a skirmish with the Indians, erected a small fort at Niagara, garrisoning it with 100 men. An epidemic broke out in the garrison and destroyed nearly all; the few survivors abandoned the fort, which was then speedily destroyed by the Indians.

It was in Denonville's time (1689), that the Iroquois laid waste the Island of Montreal, slew all who opposed them and carried off two hundred prisoners; he was relieved in 1689 by Frontenac, who then assumed the Governorship of Canada for the second time.

The forts delivered up under Jay's treaty were Dutchman's Point, Point au Fer, Oswegatchie, Oswego, Niagara, Buffalo, Detroit and Michillimacinac.

Page 479. Father Charlevoix, *nomen venerabile* in French Canada. Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix (1682-1761), the French Jesuit traveller and historian: came to Quebec in 1705, where he became a Professor: after four years' residence there he returned to France, but came to Canada again in 1720 and 1721: from Canada he went west and down the Mississippi. Returning to France, he wrote many important books on America, especially the very valuable "Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France," 1744.

Kingsford, History of Canada, Vols. II and III, gives a good account of his work on this continent, Vol. II, pp. 410, 511, 512; Vol. III, 173, 174n, 367, 368, 369.

Pages 487, 488. Notwithstanding the professional soldier's (Smith's) very natural indignation, most at the present time will probably agree with La

Rochefoucault in thinking the hair powder of the British soldier as absurd as the paint of the Indian.

Page 494. The displeasure felt by the inhabitants of Kingston at their city not becoming the capital of the Province—"le chagrin de renoncier à voir leur ville devenir capitale"—was most natural; and a strong recrudescence of this displeasure became manifest nearly half a century after this time when Kingston was disappointed in her hope of becoming permanent capital of the United Canada. She was too near the border, and the wanton destruction of the Parliament and other public buildings in York in the war of 1812-14 has never been forgotten.

Page 498. René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, born at Rouen, 1643, of a bourgeois family, came to Canada about 1666 and proceeded to explore the interior, apparently seeking a route to China. In 1669 he went up Lake Ontario, thence to the Ohio River, down which he went perhaps to the Mississippi. After other adventures he returned to Montreal and after a visit to France, he, in 1678, started from Fort Frontenac (Kingston), for the west. He went as far as Green Bay (Wisconsin), and then southward. Later on he sailed down the Mississippi to its mouth, and after many vicissitudes he was murdered by his men (1687), in the present Texas. Parkman's "La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West;" Shea's "Early Voyages up and Down the Mississippi" (Albany, 1861), and Kingsford's "History of Canada," Vol. I, give a full account of La Salle and his labours.

Page 503. As to sheep in Upper Canada, a German traveller, Friederich Gerstaecker, says that in 1837 when he visited Upper Canada it was the belief that the bite of the Canadian wolf was poisonous, so that sheep bitten by a wolf were sure to die. "An Early German Traveller," Queen's Quarterly, May 14, 1913.

Page 515. The Captain Bouchette here named was the father of the better known Joseph Bouchette, also in the navy at this time on the Great Lakes, who became Surveyor-General of Lower Canada, and published invaluable books on the geography and topography of British North America.

A very good account of the entry of Quebec by the Governor is given by Dr. Benjamin Sulte, "Bulletin Recherches Historiques" for 1899, pp. 317, 318. Of Captain Bouchette it is said, "Bouchette fut nommé Commandant sur le lac Ontario après la guerre et servit avec autant de zèle que d'intelligence; il mourut dans ce poste en 1802. Son fils Joseph fut le géographe dont les travaux n'ont pas été surpassés même en Europe." The eulogy of neither father nor son is overdrawn in the slightest. Kingsford, Hist. Can. Vol. v, p. 462 gives a less full account of Bouchette's exploit.

The son became Surveyor General of Lower Canada in 1804, succeeding his uncle, Major Holland (from whom Holland Landing received its name) who had died in the preceding year.

Page 536. Captain Williamson was the agent with whom Berczy quarrelled. See note [29], pp. 178, 179 ante.

Page 553 (also Page 518). Of course botanists do not all use the same terminology. For example, what I have called the *betula papyracea*, some call the *betula alba*, var. *papyracea*.

Prof. Harold St. John has made the same conjecture as myself (and independently) as to what La Rochefoucault means by "frangier"—he writes me:

"'Frangier' is somewhat troublesome, but I think we can say with reasonable certainty what it is. In Van Wiik's Dictionary of Plant Names, 298, 1911, I find *Chionanthus virginica* called there 'arbre à frange.' In no book can I find the term 'frangier,' but it is not a very far cry from

'arbre à franges' to 'frangier,' and there are certainly many analogous cases in the French usage, such as pommier, cerisier, and similar other ones.'" (Gray gives the habitat of the *C. Virginica* as from Pennsylvania south.)

Prof. St. John says concerning "Ragoumimex":

"In the Dictionaire de l'Academie Français I find 'Ragouminier' defined as 'espèce de cerisier à grappes.' This is presumably applied to any cherry with a raceme of fruits, such as *Prunus serotina* as you suggest, but in Provencher's Flore, I, 167, he uses the same colloquial name, 'Ragouminier,' for *Cerasus pumila* or *Prunus pumila*. Now, this species does not have the raceme of fruits such as suggested by the term 'cerisier à grappes.' Because of the confusion in this matter I don't think we can very definitely say which cherry is involved, but I think the chances are that it is *Prunus serotina*, as you suggest."

My friend Mr. D. O. Cameron has tried without success to grow the "papaw" at Oakville—it will not stand the winter.

Page 553, note. "Formius, a physician of Montpellier," who recommended maidenhair as "an universal medicine" seems to be quite forgotten unless he is the same as Samuel Formy (or Formius) of Montpellier who flourished in the 17th century and of whose work the British Museum has a copy with the following title:—

"Traicté chirurgical des bandes, laqs, emplâtres, compresses, astelles, et des bandages en particulier, plus les observations des cures faictes par les bandes, laqs et compresses emplatrées," Montpellier, 1651, 8°. (The date is erroneously printed MCDLL instead of MCDLI).

I have not been able to find in any library a copy of any work by a Formy or Formius, "De Adiantho." If such a work existed, no doubt the Adiantum was praised as a panacea for every ill. While one never hears now of Joe Pye the quack who used eupatorium for everything, there is still here and there still a believer in Samuel Thomson's lobelia—indeed, his school of medicine is hardly dead even yet though its last medical college closed its doors a few years ago.

Page 588. "Governor Coxe" was Nicholas Cox, Lieutenant Governor of Gaspé and Superintendent of the Labrador Fisheries. Born in 1724 and joining the Army at the early age of eighteen, he served King and Country for more than fifty years. He took part in the sieges of Louisbourg and Quebec, commanding a company of the 47th Regiment in the Battle on the Plains of Abraham. He also was on the staff of Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester, during the Siege of Quebec in 1776 by the Americans.

Appointed Lieutenant Governor in 1780, he went to Percé, built a house at New Carlisle and resided in his government; in 1784 he was given a pension for his faithful service to the Crown. He died in office, January, 1794. Further particulars of this useful and diligent public servant will be found in the "Bulletin des Recherches Historiques" for 1899, p. 146. He is mentioned by Kingsford, Hist. Can., Vol. vii, p. 199.

It may be added that a very comprehensive biography of La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt was published in Paris some years ago under the title: "Un philanthrope d'autrefois, La Rochefoucault Liancourt, 1747-1827," par Ferdinand-Dreyfus, (with portrait), Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1903, 547 pages.

(Pages 575, 576, note 44.) Since note 44 was in type, I have received, through the Italian Consul-General at Montreal, from the Royal Minister for Foreign Affairs (Italy), the following:—

"I beg to inform you that the Minister of the Interior has now informed me that he has received from the Superintendent of the State Archives of Milan concerning Consul Andreani, or Andriani, the following communication:

"In these Archives there cannot be found any documents wherefrom one might learn the origin of Consul Andreani or Andriani, of Milan, cited by Rochefoucauld in his travels in the United States and Canada, and who

made exhaustive journeys in the interior of America. It is probable that he belonged to the family Andreani, or Andriani, of whose life there does exist certain documents in these Archives of the IV century (Families); and to whom is preserved (in the Oratory of S. Tommaso del Borgo di Corenno), a noteworthy monument of the XIV century, bearing the well-known arms of the Andreani Family. In such case better results would be derived from the private archives, Sormani Andreani (Corso Vittoria, 2 Milano).

"In order to explain better and to facilitate any further inquiries, we make note of the following news preserved at these Archives.

"The 2nd September, 1748, Maria Teresa gave to Pietro Paolo Andreani, army lawyer of the Crown, the title of count, to pass on to his legitimate male descendants of the primogeniture, and analogous concession, was made to Giovanni Maria Andreani, Lieutenant of the Imperial Commission of Pavia, the 29th of April, 1751. (Heraldry cited.)

"2. From documents concerning the rights to bear the arms, it results that in 1770 the family consisted of the following brothers:

"Don Gian Pietro.

"Don Gerolamo, Royal Chief Justice.

"Conte Giovanni Mario, Lieutenant-General of the Province.

"Don Pietro Paolo, ducal Senator.

"Monsignor Salvatore, Bishop of Lodi; and Barnabite Order.

"3. Senator Pietro Paolo died in 1772; Count Giovanni Mario, Lieutenant-General of the Province, died in 1774 (Family Andreani, October 15th, 1774); Monsignor Salvator, Bishop of Lodi, died in 1784 (Eubel Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, and G. Angnelli 'Lodi and its Territory,' page 38). In 1787 the measures to obtain right to carry the arms was still pending by the brothers Conte Gio Mario and Senator Pietro Paolo, but it does not result whether these are those two already dead, or of homonymous persons then living, because the proper documents were signed by an attorney. (Heraldry cited,)

"4. After that epoch there is mentioned only one Count Giovanni Mario, created by His Majesty Imperial Chamberlain in 1791, who died in August, 1830, and left two properties to the Bishop's Seminary at Lodi. That he belonged to the family above mentioned is evident from his attachment to Lodi and to the Barnabite Order, in memory of Mons. Salvatore; and the title of Chamberlain would show that he enjoyed great esteem, as had all his antecedents, fulfilling important functions of the State with great honour, as is said in a public document of 1772. (Heraldry cited.)

"Therefore, while it is not to be excluded that Conte Giovanni Mario Andreani, or Andriani, was the Andreani or Andriani mentioned by La Rochefoucauld, the fact that the celebrated author knew not the name renders every identification a hypothesis."

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